University of Alberta

# TEACHING IN PRISON:

# THE TRANSMUTATION OF THE PRAIRIE REGION CONTRACTED CORRECTIONAL EDUCATORS, 1994-2000.

by

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When people lack a critical understanding of their reality, apprehending it in fragments which they do not perceive as interactive constituent elements of the whole, they cannot truly know that reality. To truly know it, they would have to reverse their starting point: they would need to have a total vision of the context in order to subsequently separate and isolate its constituent elements and by means of this analysis achieve a clearer perception of the whole. (Freire 1970: 95)

# IN MEMORIAM

**Mary Steinhauser, 1945 - 1975**
**Denise Fayant, 1967 - 1996**
**Yolaine Barrette-Simard, 1954 - 1996**
**Nancy (last name withheld), 19?? - 1996**

Four women with contrasting lives, dreams, expectations, achievements and lifestyles
died violently before mid-life.
These deaths exposed me to four different prison realities.
Four voices silenced forever.

# ABSTRACT

This study explores the professional reality of teachers in federal penitentiaries controlled by the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), Prairie region (Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba) during the period of September 1994 and September 2000, although the data gathering process was conducted between May and September, 2000.

In Canada, correctional education was privatized in 1987. Since then, educators enter the prison settings and work by prison rules to fulfill the mandate of the CSC's education policy as contracted correctional educators (CCEs). The corporate and institutionally assumed explanation for the CCEs' retention is prisonization. Complementing the work of Ruth Morris refuting prisonization and introducing the alternative of emancipation and manifestation of abolitionism (1995), the thesis challenges the various theses concerning resocialization and, because of the "impossibility of prisonization" looks at the dialogical strategies (dezoning and disowning) for personal resistance and identity mutation. The thesis concludes with recommendations for enhancing the potential for abolitionism through dialogical reflexivity and encourages CCEs to actively organize to reverse the marginalization created by bureaucratic domination and corporate privatization and to work to counteract workplace violence and advocating for state and social rectification of the failures of correctional education.

The philosophical elements of the research draw on critical realism and hermeneutic phenomenology to articulate a research strategy that includes interpretive text analysis of administrative files and open-ended participant interviews; a Freirian participant-based process of enquiry and reflection linking micro and macro analysis; and

a linguistic analysis of CCE experiences. The application of this research design revealed the complexities of the mutative experience of CCEs resulting from their participation in the conflicting CCEs-prison-corporate relationship and the systemic cultural effects resulting from exposure to the prison influences in professional, social and private life.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In Native tradition, the realization of a vision is dependent upon support. Sometimes this support is active involvement and at other times it is merely a presence, an expression of caring, space or a smile of encouragement. When I decided to embark in this project, I never expected that it would take so long or take so much out of me to midwife this dissertation; so the support became increasingly meaningful with each step towards completion.

I would like to express my profound gratitude for all my past encounters and experiences which have shaped and prepared me for the final encounter with prison. At each point of connection, individuals presented themselves: Elders Frank Daniels, Isabel Auger, Pauline Shirt, Chris and Susan Strangling Wolf and the late Raymond Harris Jr. and Wesley Ermine have all devoted part of their lives to working with prisoners. Alice Reid took over where they left off. These Elders first encouraged me to enter and stay in the prison; to complete this project and then, to move on. I am blessed by your ongoing guidance.

During my prison experience, 197 men and 29 women taught me the prison and its various meanings. These brothers and sisters sharpened my awareness of the meaning of punishment, rehabilitation and reintegration. It was terrifying, awesome and humbling to spend time with you and to learn compassion. I could have been them…they could have been me.

My peers in the prison, the CCEs who have come, gone or stayed: we have worked side-by side, witnessing one another' struggles without much support; hopefully this research will result in addressing issues.

To the six participants and 37 informants, thank you for trusting me. I hope to have conveyed the message that improvements in the nature and conditions surrounding the delivery of prison education are necessary.

My adopted family of friends supported me through dialogues and nurtured me with hospitality, caring, laughter, and acceptance. Even when you did not agree with my views, you respected them. Most notable in this group are the late Dr. David Parks and Helen, his wife. Dave and I shared our Masters and PhD studies and he kept encouraging me to "get it done." A man of few words, he helped edit down the text to half its size. Helen's no nonsense approach to life and warm hospitality kept me grounded even after Dave's death.

Dr. Annette Richardson provided me with the first of many opportunities to publish and speak out about this prison experience. She is now a treasured friend and amazing traveling partner.

Academically, I acknowledge my committee, people who have allowed me to get to know them beyond the academic domain, sometimes this was more useful to the process of "becoming" than the academic relationship. More specifically, Dr. Jerry Kachur who mentored me in so many ways of crossing boundaries. Your initial reserve and subsequent enthusiasm for the research pushed me to create more bridges. More importantly, during the last eight years we have shared and witnessed each other's evolution, and you kept asking "What are you afraid of?" I was afraid of my own fractures and of your own.

From my roots came the strength from which this completion resulted. With deep love to my grandfather, Ovila Mailly who knew the power of myths and nurtured intellectual curiosity; to my grandmother, Elmire Cloutier-Mailly who demonstrated the power of life and death, taught me self-control and instilled the desire to go after my dreams; to my mother, Marie Rose Mailly-Barrette whose pain, regrets, fears, and Alzheimer gave me the courage to speak of, and speak out; and finally to my father, Charles-Eugene Barrette who taught me by example the value of integrity and commitment. You are my touchstones.

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## List of Acronyms

**ACEA:** Alberta Correctional Education Association

**ATA:** Alberta Teachers' Association

**CCE:** Contracted Correctional Educator; employee of Company X; sub-group member of CEs since privatization (1989)

**CE:** In 1963 Correctional Educator became the designated term for teachers hired to tech in federal settings. Since privatization (1989) CE is the designation for any person facilitating correctional learning/training in provincial or federal correctional settings

**CEA:** Correctional Education Association (U.S.A.)

**COE**: Chief of Education, preferred appellation of the institutional Director of Education.

**CECC:** Correctional Education Council of Canada

**Company X:** The federal contractor and employer of the CCEs

**CSC:** Correctional Service of Canada; a federal government and Justice Department agency

**TC**: Teacher-coordinator, appellation of the contracting supervisor at each site

# CHAPTER 1
# INTRODUCTION

> *...as I walk towards the education center, following the cement breezeway, words engulf me arising deep inside...De profundis clamavi ute domine...[Du fond de l' abime je crie vers toi, mon Dieu]*[1] *and tears well into my eyes. (Personal Journal, September 4, 1994)*

## Entry Points

I had just entered the prison, passing through the Security area and the first three gates, having been divested of any source of identification, except for my gender and the clipped-on yellow tag with a "V" printed on it. It labelled me as a visitor, an outsider, and limited my access to what my managing supervisor would deem appropriate. To the inmates, who met me, it pointed me as a *'fish'*[2]; but I did not know this, because I did not know, that in this place, did not know (yet) what I did not know. My escort mentioned the impact of the prison on teachers and said: *"Some go out at lunch and never come back."* This was my first day as a corrections educator. My journal entry notes my reaction adds: "*Why the prayer for the dead? In Latin?"* Little did I know that over a decade later I would understand so much more after reflecting on my own personal experiences in light studying the lived-experience and official documentation of other corrections educators who had also gone into the prison to teach.

At the end of that first week of my prison experience as a corrections educator, I added more notes to my journal: "I'm like a tourist looking at the sights, referring to a few well known landmarks, and disoriented by the language difference and the alien setting." I had responded deeply to the stark contrasts with my previous sense of teaching as it might be in a public school or an adult education program. I see now that my prison education had just begun.

Correctional educators (CEs) have remained hidden, unknown and silent agents within the teaching profession – or at least they have not been represented in the research on education in Canada. They work in provincial and federal correctional facilities under a mix of provincial or federal government mandates. The designation of CE is a correctional administrative designation applied to any person involved in educational or correctional programs in federal or provincial institutions. Within this group is a sub-group who is the subject of my study: the teachers working in Western Canadian federal penitentiaries as *contracted* correctional educators (CCEs).

---

[1] This prayer is part of the Roman Catholic Service for the Dead. I first learned it in Latin in the 50s and then in the 60s the Church replaced the Latin with French. I find that in this translation it has lost some sense of the despair that a soul might feel if cast away from God, whom it seeks.

[2] In prison language a fish refers to an individual without prison experience. Likened to fresh fish, prison innocence will disappear as the reality and influences of 'an environment that stinks' affects the individual.

*Contracted* correctional educators (CCEs) are hired by a *private* contractor to deliver educational services in those institutions. In the 1980s the federal government sold some infrastructure assets and then contracted out some education services as part of government restructuring and privatization policies. In 1987, the federal government privatized the delivery of correctional education and this decision resulted in creating the CCE sub-category. Since then, teachers are hired though private contracts but continue to interact with correctional staff in prison settings as they work with inmates and follow prison rules to fulfill the education mandate of the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC). From 1994 to 1996, I taught in two federal penitentiaries. After I left my teaching position, I returned as a volunteer until 2001 in various capacities. My experience as a CCE was the original motivation for this study.

## Permission to Do Research in Prison Settings

Correctional Directives (1996, CD-009) regulate correctional ethics and research protocols applicable to institutional research. Although I had no intention of conducting *site-specific* field-work nor research inside the institutions, I still needed permission to talk with the CCEs about their experiences as to my knowledge CCEs were sworn by the Oath of Secrecy upon entry in the prison. The Honourable Andy Scott, the then Solicitor General of Canada, granted his approval in 1998 for me to use my experience and to interview six active contractual correctional educators (Appendixes Ia, b, c, d). Request and Approval from Honourable Andy Scott, Solicitor General of Canada).

The second component of my research on CCEs related to a discourse analysis of a corporate archive of Company X including its files for former employees who had departed for a multiplicity of reasons. I also requested and obtained permission from the Vice-president of Company X to conduct research aimed at establishing a thematic profile of CCEs. I was interested in the information entailed in the documents because it might provide potential motivations or suggest potential reasons for their departure. Company X was interested in this research because it was relevant to teacher retention and service delivery and hoped it might provide some helpful clues for improvement (Appendixes IIa- Letter of request; IIb- Consent letter from the Vice-president of Company X, Prairie Division). Aside from my interest in research or the company's interest in my findings, my first priority was to respect the autonomy, integrity, anonymity and confidentiality of all the CCEs whose lived-experience and documented history came under my scrutiny.

After I received access to this corporate archive and completed my analysis and interpretation of the personnel files, I provided a written copy to Company X. Then, my relationship with Company X soured. Subsequently, at least one official heard a preliminary presentation of some of my findings and attempted to restrict the completion of the project in a way that was not consistent with university protocols for guaranteeing independent research. The issue was mediated through liaison with Dr. Carolyn Yewchuk, Vice-Chair of Research in the Faculty of Education and a University of Alberta Ethics Review Board officer. As a result of this disagreement and against my expressed desire to have the company point of view as part of my data, a company official refused to participate in an interview. Even though I encouraged the company to provide their own interpretation of the data, they declined to do so and reneged on their initial commitment. Thus, the company perspective on key findings is absent from my analysis. However, even if the potential participant as a representative of management withdrew from the study, as was his right to do so, I retained my right to use the corporate archive.

Initially, the research proposal was approved by the University of Alberta Ethics Review Board and met the standards and requirements of the University of Alberta for academic research. Subsequently, the document has surpassed these requirements to satisfy Company X.

At the onset of the research I had been surprised to learn from government and university legal counsel that FOIP did not apply to private contracting companies. Against my original intent, my supervisor and I discussed the matter and agreed *not* to specify the actual name of Company X in the dissertation. My concession was not based on any formal ethical compliance because ethical guidelines do not apply to corporate entities. However, out of respect for the owners and management of the company, in an act of good faith, and in keeping with my own personal ethics, the company remains unnamed. Nevertheless, this meant jettisoning content from my linguistic analysis of metaphors and forgoing its connection to the ideological functioning of Company X and its recruits. The Letter of Information (Appendix IIIa) clearly outlined ethics regulating the research and my responsibilities. The Letter of Consent (Appendix IIIb) stated the right of CCEs to decide the extent of their disclosures. This right was exercised and respected throughout the study.

For those readers who are unfamiliar with prison practices, it might seem irregular this early in the thesis to disclose the above kinds of details and permission to do research; however, prison rules and regulations take priority over education matters in prisons in many ways. It is only one of the many constraints on research into the lived-experience of teachers in prisons. The prison rules and regulations are something CCEs or prison researchers may forget at their own or others' peril.

## Statement of the Problem

While there is extensive research on public school teachers and teaching and on adult education practices in North America, there is still very little research on correctional education and educators (see Chapter Two). Considering that an educational component has been a feature of prison reforms since the late 18th century, this paucity of literature concerning CEs, let alone CCEs, is remarkable. What are the experiences of CCEs who "go to prison"?

Hennessy (1999) provides another starting point on teacher experiences. Each institution has a selected group of community representatives called the Citizens

Advisory Committee (CAC) and its principal aim is to foster positive public relations between the institutions, the inmates and the community. As a CAC member from 1992 to 1998, Hennessy had many opportunities to observe what was happening behind prison walls. This is how he described teachers and the educational activities at Kingston Penitentiary:

> Isolated individuals on the staff go about their work with an obvious sense of mission and surprising goodwill. They are shining lights and deserve more recognition than they get. The school at KP clunks along in a modest way. It has recently been moved to the former photocopying shop. The school is conducted under a private contract with an outfit called [Company X]. There are about a dozen teachers, full or part-time, serving 120 inmates the last time I asked. Ninety of those were doing basic upgrading to grade ten; the remaining 30 at the school were taking high school credits or Seneca Community College credits. Nearly 250 of the prison population of four-hundred-plus do not have grade ten standing. The school is an oasis of friendly quietness. Its camouflaged walls conceal the pain of hard labour done there many long years ago. The frequent lock-downs leave an observer wondering how the teachers ever reach their curriculum objectives. (Hennessy 1999: 175)

But there is much more to "adult education" in a federal prison setting.

After privatization became a feature of correctional education, Davidson's (1995) *Schooling in a "Total Institution"* was one of the few studies concerning CEs and CCEs. He emphasized the educational and professional quandaries created by the educational mandates found in American and Canadian penal settings. He disclosed the emergence of inconsistencies between the ideology of rehabilitation and the limitations imposed by the mandate of detention upon the mandate of education that aims to promote and facilitate rehabilitation by turning criminals into contributing citizens.

At first glance for the uninitiated, knowing something about teaching in prison might seem to be a matter of simply generalizing from already existing research about public schooling or adult education to be able to grasp the experiences of CCEs. In some ways this is true, however, it takes only a little interaction with life in Canada's prison settings or teaching in corrections institutions for the recruits to learn that these institutions provide a social life unto themselves. In short, when teachers go to teach in Canada's correctional system, they quickly learn that they have not gone to *just* another school but that *they have gone to prison.*

Davidson (1995) reports that prison educators are "almost always fearful" (xiv) of conditions turning against them and that "critique within the ranks is distrusted and restrained lest it becomes an opponent's weapon" (xiv). Where does this compliance, distrust, fear and restraint come from?

Prison schooling functions primarily as a function of prisons and not as a function of schooling. The rules are very different and teachers are caught unaware – and many face a multiplicity of traumas. But how might they become aware of this potential state of affairs when so little is known about teachers going to prison? They would assume, as I did with my appointment to such a teaching position, that the prison setting was just another school situation just in a different locale with most of the rules similar to the ones experienced before. Or they might assume that if people knew they would be so naïve and ignorant and anticipated where they were heading and how they might feel, an informed authority might provide them with the appropriate information or an intensive and comprehensive apprenticeship for this unique and special job.

But, so too, where might the authorities get this information or how would teacher education programs prepare potential corrections educators when almost no research has been done on the *experience* of teachers going to prison to teach? Why not just use research on public schools or even adult education? Simply stated: because it is so very different! What is different about it? How is it different? Why is it different? And what can be done about it? Minimally, why isn't detailed information available to accomplish a simple task of teacher preparation? But answering why - and what can be done about it - is not a small or easy question to answer at any time, and especially not in a place where life in a prison takes maximum precedence over a life dedicated to education in the broadest sense of the term. So, "Why this experience and not another?" is as important a question as is "What is the experience?" My research kept these two questions in mind most of the time.

More specifically, what are the experiences of these CCEs, of not only their teaching or "school life," but also their experience and knowledge of the social and cultural systems of their workplace, their intersecting social, professional, and family lives, and indeed their own internal conversations and psychological defence mechanisms as part of their struggle to understand how they might do their job well or to continue teaching at all? In other words, more knowledge and insight are required into the nature of the institutional division of labour; the conditions of work for teachers in prisons; the unique professional status for teachers working in a school under the jurisdiction of the federal (not provincial) government; and the changing conditions of work in a public institution now further complicated by the privatization of teaching services – all part of a very complex teaching life.

In addition, Davidson (1995) provides another clue about the professional isolation resulting from teaching in prison. The academe clearly distances itself from the CEs and inclusively of CCEs. For example, the contributors to Davidson's book identified themselves as ". . . teachers who are historians, sociologists, criminologists and educators who taught university-level courses . . ." (xv) rather than identifying themselves as prison teachers, prison educators, or correctional educators, or contractors; even when they technically fit these labels. However, in their estimation their specializations differentiate them from CEs and CCEs because they "have some sense about the structure and functioning of the prison social and cultural systems" (xvi). They also claim a further awareness summarized in Davidson's words:

> We are not in the business of rehabilitating prisoners. We are not so unconscious of how structural conditions influence human agency as to claim that schooling alone is going to improve students' opportunities to get jobs and avoid being sent back to prison. We understand that education in any form is not a neutral technology that can be detached from the context in which it takes place. Yet we are not so obtuse to our own experiences and forgetful of our own histories that we would deny

> that education can make a difference. The operational definition of success accepted in the literature of correctional education is to reduce the rate of recidivism. . . (xvii).

Thus the second element of the research problem is to answer questions related to why it seems that few people care about the CCEs experiences or their conditions of employment. Researchers have been reticent to explore the reality of CCEs' experiences; this reticence may be based, in part, on the systemic secrecy shrouding correctional experiences. This point may be true but it also needs explaining, and there may be many other factors to consider. However, this seeming indifference to or ignorance of CCE experience is compounded by the nature of CCE isolation and lack of appreciation (e.g. lack of psychological compensations, social esteem, or economic incentives). Also their job is difficult and demands sacrifices to continue working and at time the costs are materially or psychological damaging by choosing to enter, to stay or to exit. Furthermore, there can be factors that are rarely reported or explored, or that may raise questions about the nature and functioning of prisons in Canadian or Canadian society as whole going well beyond the local conditions of teaching sites and the personal responses of CCEs.

The third element of the problem is related to the difficulty of the research task. The very nature and functioning of the prison system accentuates many taken-for-granted assumptions when compared to other research locales. It is an intensely closed and hierarchical system with complex systems of rituals and rules and many layers of bureaucracy. Prisons are not democracies and authorities give no pretension that it is or should be in anyway "democratic." Immediately, as most people might imagine, this kind of setting offers little incentive to spare for a truly *educative* purpose for teachers.

Moreover, Company X, a primary institutional object in this study, has prison administrators who cannot satisfactorily explain the loss or retention of CCEs. When pushed to explain they fall-back to the "common sense" of prisonization theory (Clemmer [1938]1958) as a blanket explanation. This social theory explains the adaptation of individuals to the social system and social order of prison, the taking on in greater or less degree of the folkways, mores, customs, and general culture of the penitentiary (299). Since then, the key assumptions of "prisonization" have been repeatedly confirmed as isolation, indoctrination, and inauthentic embodiment when the primary emotion is fear (Clemmer 1958; Cressey 1969; Irwin 1970, 1980; Slosar 1978; Lombardo 1981; Lemire 1990; Connover 2000).

The problem may be *prisonization theory* itself and the fact that many of its core assumptions are rarely tested let alone challenged. It is difficult not to emphasize that the prison is an apparatus of almost absolute coercion and surveillance for all who enter but explanations are preordained as merely a function of *prisonization*. For that reason it becomes necessary to determine how and why CCEs' teaching experience are embedded in the political, cultural and economic grid of prison life. What is this life and how does it work? Specifically, what exactly has been the federal government reforms regarding delivery of educational services? How has this affected teaching? What have been the consequences? Have these changes made education better? Do they reinforce or inhibit teacher retention? Do the changes accomplish what they are supposed to accomplish? So not only is there an absence of research on the experience of teaching in a prison, there is little to no research on the effects of the privatization initiative implemented in the 1990s on teachers' lived-experience. Has this privatization made a difficult situation worse or better? And how much of teacher experience can be attributed to it? And in evaluation, whose initiative or logic or concerns is reform intended to help: the private company, federal officialdom or the teachers themselves? Not all these questions can be answered nor can some of the questions be adequately framed to offer up a simple answer or to be captured by a mathematical deduction - but the questions require asking and qualitative research is but one way to understand more than education researchers, prison officials or corporate managers know now.

In addition, there is a fourth element to the problem. CEs and CCEs and corrections reformers work in two different worlds. The problem is that the researchers *of* reform do not identify themselves as correctional educators and corrections educators lack the requisite resources for research and publication to get their story out. They are constrained by the nature and functioning of the prison system and can't seem to get a hearing. Research oriented at synthesizing scholarly research and practical understanding of the teaching and life experiences of CCEs is required, but how might this synthesis be achieved? What knowledge about teachers "going to prison" might be gained? What would this information have to say to teachers, prison officials and private contractors if theory and practice were linked? Furthermore, what would or could it say if it was also informed by a moral-ethical commitment to progressive education, just reform or even to the eventual abolition of prisons? Or, is asking for a more emancipatory form of education going beyond the narrowest definition of training already asking for too much?

Ruth Morris (1933-2001) was one important reformer who was also a scholarly researcher. According to Morris (1995: 1) abolition of the prison system as it now exists is "a critical, practical and realist alternative to imprisonment" based upon four arguments: (a) prison is expensive; (b) prison is unjust; (c) prison is immoral and (d) prison (and retributive justice) is a failure. From a critical stance, abolition means acknowledging the devastating effects of not only prisons but also of policing and surveillance upon communities and to recognize that the wrongdoings called "crimes" are determined by a society and the social and economic conditions in which they occur. Abolitionists do not believe that reforms can make prison just or effective. Their goal is not to improve the [correctional] system; it is to shrink the system into non-existence by "decarceration," the exercise of one or more of 23 alternatives to incarceration.

The fifth element of the research problem addresses one major weakness in Morris's work. She believed anyone has the potential to become an abolitionist and she identified the transitional process itself; but would this transformation be spontaneous? An accident? Impossible? Probable? Inevitable? This gap in her work reveals possibilities for andragogical praxis. Knowles (in Cranton 1994, Introduction) introduced the term "andragogy" in 1968, to define the "art and science of helping adults learn" and to clearly differentiate (1970) it from pedagogy, the art and science of teaching children. Up to 1979, Knowles wrote of "pedagogy versus andragogy" before placing them on a continuum "from pedagogy to andragogy" (1980). Thus, he has moved the learner from a dependent role to an independent one; and the teacher, from full responsibility for all decisions about learning and instructions, to a more responsive role in principle. His andragogical model (1984) is based upon four basic assumptions: (a) self-directedness is part of the self-concept of the learner; (b) the learner's life experience is relevant and should be integral to new learning; (c) readiness to learn correlates with need to learn; and (d) learning is life or problem-solving centered. Consequently, might andragogical practice in one form or another contribute to abolition or help to develop an abolitionist orientation amongst CCEs? What would this andragogy look like? How should, could or would it be practiced? What might be the consequence of new teaching practices?

The final element of the research problem relates to most of the transformation literature in adult education. American transformative education researchers such as Myles Horton (1971) and Jack Mezirow (1991, 1995) are informed by the theory of communicative action and focus too narrowly on the personal psychology of practitioners so they tend to limit their analysis to individualistic assumptions about cognition, and de-emphasize spiritualistic, idealistic and subjectivist assumptions about change. According to Marsik (1987), Marsik and Watkins (1990), and Welton (1991) *workplace learning* is a human construct. It includes both informal and planned learning and involves some input from others. A CCE's workplace learning is an essential component of a CCE's overall professional development. It occurs in school settings and involves the transformation of knowledge, values and beliefs into classroom practice. "In Defense of the Lifeworld" Michael Welton (1995) showed that Habermas' sociological theory and theory of rationalization provide a framework and elements for the study of social learning processes. Following Welton, then, what might a CCE's knowledge and research of this type contribute to institutional factors in change? CCEs learn much more about the world than what is required by a narrow task of schooling or literacy. Good teaching demands broad perspectives and alternative understandings. CCEs, too, have some sense of the education as a holistic enterprise as well the unique setting for their work in. What, then, would the influence of prison effect professional development? Davidson (1995) wondered, if given opportunity, "...these literacy teachers may be willing to challenge prevailing assumptions within prison education...and create possibilities for a critique to emerge...to interrogate ideologies, to revisit historical memories, and to reconsider how social conditions mold practices" (xv).

Life in prison is definitely about individuals whose personal psychology and subjective states are put into play; however, their personal states are not the only aspects in question. Social and cultural systems also certainly come into play. However, Welton (1991:40) reminds us that there is considerable resistance within organizations to learner-centered environments and that the technocratic bias pervades organizational culture and that careerism is quite often incompatible with a participatory management style. Finally, social policy applied to an industrial model of relations does not necessarily embody the educative workplace model. Therefore, changing prison life - or even just changing one aspect of it of teaching as part of it - is going to require more than merely changing personal attitudes or individual behaviours. Changing a world of concrete, bars and violence, takes more than changing one's mind or pulling oneself up by the bootstraps. While changing one's mind might be a necessary precondition for change, certainly it is not sufficient, and sometimes it might not be necessary given the kind and nature of systemic changes required. The orthodox approach to transformational education fails, for the most part, to account for the reality of the physical, bodily, and objective social and cultural structures of prison life and the function of prisons in Canadian society. Even if it shouldn't, education on "the outside" might proceed in a muddled sort of way without accounting for these same structures, it would be foolhardy to conduct any kind of research on prisons that ignored the material and systemic conditions of life. What are these material, social, and cultural structures? How do they function? How do they intersect with the cognitive, affective, bodily and linguistic states of CCEs? How might these aspects be included in thinking about transformational andragogy?

## Addressing the Six Elements and Significance of the Problem

The research problem is addressed in six ways: description of CCE lived experience, a moral-ethical commitment to CCEs and abolitionism, historical and structural analysis beyond teacher experience, a critical realist model of cultural interaction, a challenge to the dominant socialization theory of CCE adaptation to prison life, and proposing an potential andragogical approach to facilitate abolitionism.

### 1. Description.

This research *names* and *describes* the lived experiences of CCEs in federal penitentiaries of the Prairie Region between September 1994 to September 2000 – with the core of the field-research and interview data collected in the summer of 2000. For the reader familiar with either public school teaching or adult education the narrative *demonstrates* the similarities and differences; however, it is beyond the scope of this study to comparatively describe these similarities and differences with public school teaching or more familiar adult education settings. The research will provide information about what the reality of teaching is when "you are not going to school; you are going to prison."

### 2. Moral-ethical commitments.

In addition to following the ethical parameters consistent with a critical realist philosophy, critical methodologies, legitimate qualitative research practices, and the ethical guidelines provided by the University of Alberta, the Federal Government, and the private contractors for education services, Corporation X, this research *recognizes* the personal and professional isolation of CCEs and *cares* enough about their struggles and suffering to provide one means for their voices to be heard. It also suggests some potential ways for careful and feasible action to be taken to improve their working conditions, or even just to create a better space for a more authentic and emancipatory adult education to gain a foothold.

The significance of this orientation is that I approached the understanding of teaching in prison from the point of view of CCE lived-experience and with each CCE's personal and professional interest at the center of my rationale for the research. Unlike many studies of prison life I did not approach the analysis from point of view of the government bureaucrats, prison authorities or the corporate contractor and its managers. Furthermore, my commitment was to creating a quality education where the efficiencies are education-driven and not market-driven or management-focussed, with a commitment to recognize that "warden-ship" of prisoners and CCEs is quite different than "teacher-ship."

### 3. Historical and Structural Analysis.

The research *identifies* some of the structural and systemic forces shaping corrections education, specifically the nature, functioning, and experiences of teaching in prisons; of the interactive effects of the federal government bureaucracy, the carceral dynamics of prison life and the management of the coercive mechanisms of control and silencing; and of the supplemental consequences for that prison dynamic and teacher experience resulting from independent effects of privatization policies and their implementation. The research also *shows* the nature and functioning of coercion and control as well as the contestation for the teaching space over alternative approaches to penal justice, now dominant in the prison literacy discourse and subordinated to the ideology of recidivism. According to *Juristat* recidivism is subsequent criminal activity resulting in additional conviction and sentencing.

The significance of the research lays in the recognition that teaching in prisons functions at many levels and any of the solutions have to go beyond simplistic understandings of individual behaviours and attitudes about teaching and that institutions, socio-cultural formations and society-at-large. If large aggregates of individuals and the most sophisticated statistics may tell us a lot, they can never tell us about the lived-experience of the teachers or how and why they make sense of it as the partcipants do.

### 4. Research Model for Analysis of Culture.

My research approaches the study of culture by following the extensive work of Margaret Archer (1995; 1996; 1998; 2000; 2003). I refer the reader to this work because detailed coverage of Archer's assumptions and findings is not possible here although I will discuss her work in more detail below and in Chapter Three. It suffices to say that I use her realist social theory (1995) and a morphogenic approach to analysis because her theory of culture and agency (1996) proposes that there is a "myth of cultural integration."

She argues that the genesis of the Myth of Cultural Integration originated in anthropology and provides the hegemonic, yet false, view about the nature and functioning of culture. The conventional approach to culture includes two problematic notions: "[1] The notion of a cultural pattern with an underlying unity and a fundamental coherence. [2] The notion of uniform action, identified with the above [first notion] and stemming from it to produce social homogeneity . . . In other words, to view culture as a 'community of shared meaning' means eliding the community with the meanings" (1995: 4).

Her four major criticisms of the original Myth and of research that perpetuates the Myth are directed at [1] their refusal to recognize or attach importance to inconsistencies within the Cultural System; [2] their inattention to the presence or absence of alternatives at the Systemic level; [3] their unwillingness to concede a modicum of differentiation in the population; and [4] their rejection of any conditions capable of damaging Socio-Cultural integration (1996: 19).

Archer (1995) suggests that a conjunction of these assumptions precludes a theory of cultural change because the assumptions eliminate those elements essential to developing such a theory. Such is the case, I suggest, with *prisonization theory*. It may function as Myth. The significance of Archer's work alerted me to the possibility that an alternative model for the research design might be necessary to approach the analysis of Myth – and it did! The design evolved as part of the open-ended critical historical and ethnographic analyses. What the research design combines is an analysis of (1) the socio-cultural interaction of CCEs; (2) the interactive effects of CCEs with the cultural system of the prison; and (3) the causal influences of their personal and professional struggles, particularly their ongoing internal dialogue as humans beings and their dialogue with me during the field-research, and my recognition that somehow CCEs' agency and the structure of the prison were two different sides of the same lived-experience which oriented teacher action (Archer 2003). The significance of Archer's model lies in suggesting that different kinds of methodologies and methods were required to understand the complexity of prison life.

As consistent with a historical analysis (Neuman 2000), I arrived at my conclusions after-the-fact, that is, after immersing myself in my own and in the lived experience of CCE teaching and working in prison, in the reading of official documents and files, and by constant iterations and reiterations of meaning and thematization in dialogue with the CCEs, with the institutional personnel, environments and documents, and with my PhD supervisor in finalizing the text of the dissertation.

### 5. A challenge to *prisonization theory*?

I discuss the assumptions of prisonization theory in more detail in the following chapter. Prisonization theory is the dominant way institutionalization and socialization to prison-life is explained. Because its assumptions are rarely if ever *not* assumed, it functions more as Myth than as theory open to falsification or competing with alternative explanations for the same experiences or events. Not only is prisonization theory used to "explain" the adaptation of CCEs and others to life in prison, it has been internalized at a very deep level by most people who work in prisons, think about prisons and prescribe changes to prisons. More than a "scientific" theory it currently functions somewhat like a "political" ideology. It infuses most mundane tasks related to prison life. Getting people who work on prison reform or who toil inside its gates to think a little differently about what is going on is a very difficult task. I only got some sense of how deeply prisonization theory was lodged in the back of my brain until the latter stages of my data analyses. This insight resulted from a constant return to the data and findings and from different perspectives and with the luxury of being free from the constant pressures institutional employees face on a daily basis. I kept Archer's criticism of Myth in mind while interrogating the data and my various interpretations of it. "Facts" never miraculously speak for themselves when it comes to "prisonization theory." Archer provided one of many resources that helped me approach my data collection, analysis and evaluation in different ways and to develop insights about CCE socialization that doesn't necessarily presuppose the Myth.

To be forewarned, my conclusion suggests the "impossibility of prisonization" primarily because of CCEs's bodily responses, tensions, contradictions and agonisms suffered as a response to their lived-experience and while talking about it with me. They expressed through their verbal and non-verbal behaviours many signs of emotional disturbance – what could be called emotional anomalies if their situation was not as it is. In a normal situation a normal response is congruent. In an abnormal situation an unexpected or abnormal response is also congruent. But when an abnormal situation provokes a normal response it represents an anomality, a dehumanizing effect at play.

The significance of alternative theorizing is three-fold. It suggests that the prison world may not be as it appears. That too much research on prisons is informed by atheoretical or deductive empiricism: more theorizing about the prison experience is needed. And finally, that theorizing to the best explanation requires testing and evaluating our most tried and supposedly *true* assumptions, one being that "prisonization theory" explains what is going on.

### 6. Insights about research on prisons and teaching in prisons.

The above reference to emotional anomalies or affective data and their collation and analysis, provided the necessary information and themes to develop an alternative conception of "transformative andragogy." I ended up calling this alternative "transmutive andragogy" as it suggests first, an internal process of self-reflection and second, a collaborative voluntary pursuit to identify and learn. I suggest that it is as a potential mechanism for drawing out, articulating, and potentially promoting the *already existent* abolitionist potential in CCEs. The final contribution this research addresses is my proposal for a potential andragogical approach that might facilitate prison abolitionism.

I distinguish two key moments in the transmutive process relating to the federal prison and subsequent corporate privatization of services. The "impossibility of prisonization" creates two possibilities: a general prison effect calling for an andragogical strategy I called "de-zoning," and a secondary effect that supplements general prison practices and results relatively independently from privatization effects on education services in prison. I called this secondary strategy "dis-owning." The significance of these andragogical insights is primarily their practical utility, first for teachers who go to prison, second for people who might already work in prisons or are intending to do so, and third for other researchers, teacher education programs, prison reformers, policy-makers, corporate managers, corrections officials, politicians and other interested parties.

Furthermore, this transmutive andragogical model may have applications beyond the prison-setting in institutions in other kinds of school situations. Public schools, however different, share more similarities with prisons than the other way around when it comes to institutional features or emotional intensities. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that prisons are "total" institutions (see Goffman next chapter) and in this way the setting is unlike any other education program.

My model offers a potential challenge to the dominant assumptions about transformative adult education and most of the teaching strategies that reduce transformation to individual psychological behaviours and cognitions and overlook the affective and emotive dimensions at the micro-level. Furthermore, my model challenges those linguistic models which only emphasize the semantic (meaning) content of language of verbal and not the syntactic grammar or pragmatic utility of language. One of structuralism's and poststructuralism's important contribution to this research is to focus on and comprehend the performative utility of language (e.g. metaphors). Linguistic action not only says something, it does something through rhetorical persuasiveness or as a political act of power that have institutional effects. To ignore the linguistic relationship to the systemic social and cultural structures would dismiss the many difficult challenges to implementing transformative andragogy in real socio-historical settings. How fruitful is this theory about "the impossibility of prisonization" and "transmutive andragogy"? While current prison practices which only seem to facilitate, at best, the narrowest sort of training or, at worst, anti-education no one single study can answer this question. However, minimally, the study should provide a better understanding of the dynamics of prison schooling and of the multiple challenges that CCEs face not only physically but also with their hearts, minds and souls when they go to teach in prison.

## Philosophical Grounding: A Word about Critical Realism

As mentioned already, Margaret Archer's (1995, 1996) social model for the study of culture assumed a philosophical understanding of social science called critical realism. Chapter Three addresses the specific details of the philosophical authorization for the methodology; the methodological research design for integrating mixed methods approach; and a specification of those strategies and techniques used in collecting, analyzing, and evaluating the data. However, a brief introduction to the philosophical assumptions of critical realism and some of the characteristics of critical inquiry are in order as an introduction to what might be unfamiliar terrain for the reader.

Categorized differently, various philosophies compete to define criteria for social science and practice-based research: positivism, hermeneutics, postmodernism and critical realism (Danemark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen and Karlson 2002; Neuman 2000; Outhwaite 1987). However, critical realism allows for the articulation of different "ways of knowing" (epistemologies) within a unique understanding of assumptions about the "state of being" (ontology). This ontology is different from the other three approaches which assume a common ontology with each other and focus on the epistemological differences that divide them. Critical realism, hermeneutics and postmodernism also authorize a greater range of approaches to logic and rhetoric to be used in social research than positivism (see Chapter Three). When the logics are combined in an overall argumentative structure, a critical realist research project is organized as an *explanatory critique* (see also Collier 1994; Danemark et al. 2000; Fay 1975, 1987; Guba and Lincoln 2005; Lopez and Potter 2001; Morrow with Brown 1994; Outhwaite 1987; Sayer 1992, 2000; Scott 2000). It can also be considered consistent with critical theory and pedagogy but philosophers agree to disagree on this matter (e.g. Danemark et al. 2000; Guba and Lincoln 2005).

Sayer (2000: 159) summarizes the four stages of an explanatory critique.

1. The first stage identifies problems based on unmet needs, suffering and false beliefs.
2. The second stage identifies the source or cause of those unmet needs, suffering and false beliefs and attempts to identify their particular forms of domination.
3. The third stage passes a negative judgement of those sources of illusion and oppression.
4. The final fourth stage suggests particular actions, those which might be attempted to remove those sources of unmet needs, suffering, or false beliefs.

False beliefs can take the form of falsehoods, delusions and/or fictions. An auxiliary analysis, therefore, might also include an identification of the nature of the circumstances that generate the cultural system. The normative statements which link explanatory critique to prescriptive recommendation for practice or policy may be naturalistically deduced from the identification of the barriers that *ought to be abolished* because they are the source of suffering. This "ought to be abolished," however, may be further supplemented with as assessment of the feasibility of the political project and questions regarding the desired end state or the appropriate means to get there. Critical realism thus also authorizes a pattern of analysis consistent with critical theory and critical pedagogy articulating a goal to evaluate the presence or absence of social emancipation, a social analysis of how society works to identify what constraining or enabling emancipation, and an identifiable social mechanism that may or may not bring about the prerequisite to change.

More specifically, for this thesis, the suffering of corrections educators is assumed to be the product of the nature and functioning of the prison environment and its relationship to society at large as well as the educator's own self-understanding of their teaching practices and how they relate to the social and cultural organization of the prison system.

Building on the work of Morris (1989), the thesis also assumes that the way government bureaucrats, prison officials, corporate managers, and corrections educators conceive of "education" acts to enable or constrain specific practices that either facilitate adaptation or promote resistance. These action complexes play an important role in either reducing or challenging the logic of education in relationship to the prison function or the logic of coercive control. Finally, the focus here is in on the feasibility of abolitionist educational practice given (a) the real constraints of an institution, (b) the prison's commitment to linking education to the ideology of recidivism and (c) the imposition of a culture of silence on teachers who wish to do otherwise when they find out they have gone to prison.

### Critical Inquiry: The Researcher as Stranger

As with postmodernism, critical realism authorizes epistemological relativism but unlike postmodern eclecticism or cultural relativism, different "ways of knowing" can be coherently articulated and rationally adjudicated. The final arbiter of truth is the test of social reality in both its transitive and intransitive characteristics and theory-evaluation is based on empirical judgements and not aesthetic taste, pragmatic power or ontological virtue. Critical realism also supports assessing research on the basis of logical coherence and inferences to the best theory (i.e. abductive logic) (Norris 2005: 166-182). However, because critical realism supports multiple ways of knowing however, it also defends the notion that some ways of knowing are simply inaccurate, immoral, inadequate, or politically counter-productive and require reality-testing while simultaneously not ruling out the possibility of a rational inter-paradigmal adjudication as does postmodernism and hermeneutics. Critical realism, thus, authorizes different methodologies and mixed-methods in the development of a research design and judges it according to both the subjective purpose of the research and the ontological status of the object.

Critical realism is also intended to complement critical social science (CSS) and has a close affinity to critical theory and andragogy. However, it is also compatible with other forms of inquiry, including "qualitative" or, the preferred term, "intensive" research designs (e.g. case study, historical sociology, ethnography, action research) as well as document-based historical analysis (Morrow with Brown 1994: 250-266; Neuman 2000: 381-414). Additionally, critical realism also supplies criteria for educational research as an explanatory critique that links empirical (fact-based) theory and normative (value-based) theory to practice and policy recommendations (Scott 2000). Each of these forms of inquiry plays a role in this study. Chapter Three dedicates more details to critical realist philosophy, to the mixed-methods approach to research design, and to the strategies and techniques of the critical methods and acts as a guide for practical applications.

Broadly speaking, the dominant method for the study is a critical "history of the present," based on the characteristics of historical inquiry (Neuman 2000: 381-414). Underlying this general historical method, the three major parts of the research design include historical analysis of the corporate archive and ethnographically-oriented field-based analyses. In addition, the final stage of this explanatory critique draws on themes induced from the intensive research methods to propose a theory of teaching practice as a desirable and feasible way to implement an abolitionist strategy.

In this introduction, it suffices to say that the research design of the dissertation comprises three methods: critical historiography, critical ethnography and critical theorizing about andragogical practice. This study is designed to direct attention toward the unmet needs, suffering and false beliefs of the CCEs and of some of the people who manage them. I tease out the particular forms of institutional domination and pass some judgement on the sources of CCE illusions and on their participation in their own oppression.

1. The critical historical analysis includes a text analysis of the Corporate X archive of former CCEs (see Chapter Five) and explores three levels of meaning: literal, interpretive and critical.

2. The critical ethnography and action-based analysis is directed at interpreting prison culture as text and includes extensive in-depth interviews with six participant CCEs who stayed to teach despite facing a difficult work situation. Through the process, I drew indirectly on my own insights as a former employee as my earlier employment might be considered an "extended ethnography." While events and experiences from my previous employment motivated much of this study, I have worked hard to bracket previous understandings to get a better sense of the institution and the participants. These experiences were impossible to ignore and I used them to enable insights that a complete outsider or insider would have difficulty gaining. It must be emphasized that my specific focus is not on the managers of the institution *but the lived-experiences of CCEs as prison educators* – all making the best of a complex and unique teaching situation.

3. The critical theorizing about andragogy is analytically distinctive from the critical ethnography even though it is difficult to separate from the second part of the research design. It is set off in different chapters from the descriptions and analysis of the CCE experience. However, at this level of theoretical analysis, I draw on insights garnered (secondarily and indirectly) from the historical analysis of the corporate archive and (primarily and directly) from the ethnographic findings thematized from the in-depth interviews. I then use this theory to think about my own andragogic practices and to propose the feasibility for an abolitionist mechanism called transmutive andragogy.

Even though the study includes critical historical analysis and ethnographic and field-based analyses, it shares a strong affinity with what Sandra Harding (2003) calls the "stranger as researcher." This "way of knowing" may not be familiar to the reader and will be specified in more detail in Chapter Three. A stranger is someone who has been both an insider and an outsider in a particular cultural context. By adopting these two dueling perspectives (native and observer) offers the potential to develop an understanding not limited to either perspective alone.

Harding includes in the "stranger as critical researcher" category, Paulo Freire (1970). Freire's approach to the world should be clearly evident in my work. His threads are woven throughout this exposition and his fingerprints are all over my different levels of analysis. He shapes my understanding of "critical inquiry" and his best known work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), informs my work for liberation. From my earliest exposure to Freire's writings in adult education classes until the end of this inductive reading of data, I have "stolen" much about what education is, what it should be and, in prison, what it is not.

From Freire I have also learned about the power to "name" things, especially my own experience and the experience of others. And in *critical* dialogue, under my supervisor's prodding and attentive eye, my own slip of the tongue named two key words: "de-zoning" and "dis-owning." These two words captured two key components of my interactive strategy in working with the CCEs and the use of the hyphen accentuates their sound and outcomes. I subsequently came to name "transmutive andragogy" as a practice for abolitionism. These *namings* are conceptual condensations of complex practices intended to capture a subtle set of practices that emerged identifiable traces from almost 12 reflexive years of experiencing and then thinking, researching and writing, about life as a CCE.

## Dissertation Outline

Chapter Two examines existing literature on teaching and other relevant working experiences in prison settings. The purpose of the chapter is to identify the major gaps in the substantive findings and theories about teachers in prisons and leads to the description of my cultural model for approaching the data collection, analysis and evaluation. Chapter Three articulates the philosophy of social research, the epistemology of "stranger as researcher," and the research design for a mixed-methods approach. It specifies the specific strategies and techniques for the field-research with CCEs and document analysis of the corporate archive. It also discusses in more detail the nature of explanatory critique and how it is used to link the research findings to theory and practice. Chapter Four illustrates the bureaucratic dynamics and information control in prison settings. It also reveals the type of knowledge, *if such knowledge had been available,* that the participants needed prior to their entry in order to make an informed decision about becoming involved in correctional education and in privatized employment. Chapter Five includes information resulting from the first part of the primary research: the documented experience of CCEs contained in the archival record of the contractor. This discourse analysis of the corporate archive of personnel files identifies general patterns in a) CCEs who once worked for Company X and b) in practices, c) raises questions regarding the reasons for weaknesses in employee retention, and d) it provides insights for later chapters and for my exploration of why teachers stay. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight provide the core of the primary research based on intensive and extended field-research with CCEs themselves. In these chapters the CCEs identify important themes about the nature of CCE experience, the functioning of the prison education system, and in their active engagement with those around them. The analysis delineates *a crisis of personal integrity* as the defining phenomena of their experience. Chapter Nine introduces the practical results of the explanatory critique and identifies my transmutive andragogical approach: "De-zoning/Dis-owning." As a transformative model for andragogical interaction, is suggests an identifiable process to advance the abolitionist agenda as a complement to the work of Morris (1995). Finally, Chapter Ten reviews the study and provides a set of recommendations aimed at addressing a few of the shortcomings in the preparation of CCEs, educational practices in prison settings, and corporate privatization of education services.

# CHAPTER 2

# WORKING IN PRISON: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH AND SOCIAL THEORY

This chapter reviews the relevant research and explanations about teaching and working in prison. It includes a discussion of the dominant explanation of socialization called "prisonization" and introduces an additional secondary factor in prison processes called "privatization." These two concepts are the two key institutional factors of prison practice under investigation and delimit the basic research question: "What are the contracted correctional educators' (CCEs) experiences of 'prisonization' and 'privatization'?" Complementary to this delimitation, the study explores the validity and efficacy of these concepts to capture the sociohistorical dynamic of contemporary prison practices regarding the defection and retention of CCEs. The specific empirical research of this dynamic also intends to provide important information that might either support or challenge "prisonization" theory as a valid and reliable explanation for the experiences of CCEs. Different factors could point to a different, latent, or alternative explanation that might suggest different, latent, or alternate "prescriptions" for prison reform or abolitions. The chapter concludes with a brief review of social theory and two important cultural models traditionally used to analyze prison practices: the poststructuralism of Michel Foucault and the symbolic interactionalism of Erving Goffman. I suggest that Margaret Archer's cultural praxis model (i.e. her Morphogenetic/Morphostatic Cycle) provides a satisfactory synthesis that incorporates of the strengths of structuralism and interactionalism without succumbing to some of their weaknesses in addressing the dialectic of structure and agency as two complementary sides of the same social practice. Archer's cultural praxis model, thus, may help elucidate the institutional structures and action complexes that inform CCE experience and allows for a way to harness the insights from both Foucault's poststructuralist and Goffman's symbolic interactionalist approach to prison culture. The literature review also highlights the methodological problems in previous prison research and suggest alternative ways to address them, thus laying the basis for justifying a different methodology to approach this research. Where Chapter Two focuses on social theory and the previous approaches to prison research, Chapter Three will attend more to the philosophical, methodological, and technical aspects of the research.

## I. Literature Review of Prison Teachers and Teaching in Prison

I conducted a preliminary North American literature search of research abstracts in Spanish, English and French using an ERIC and Dissertation Abstracts on CD-Rom. I accessed these databases through the University of Alberta Library during the Fall of 1994, shortly after I became a CCE. I used terms such as "correctional education," "adult education and prisons," "literacy and prison," and "correctional educators." Subsequent and ongoing searches took place between 1997-2000 in the Solicitor General and CSC Archives and were followed up by more intense reviews from 2000-05 during my dissertation writings. These longitudinal monitorings revealed very little research about teachers and teaching in Canadian correctional settings. I have organized my review of the literature by country, in sequence, and by generalizing first from teachers toward other workers in prison settings.

For example, there was nothing from Mexico about education or educators in prisons. There was a study of case management in a Canadian penitentiary (Gertsman 1999) done in Spanish, but it focused upon the use of a specific assessment tool in the case management of Canadian prisoners. Observers of prisons in Mexico have often commented that the treatment of Mexican prisoners does not meet international standards, so the absence of educational research or programming in their prison is not surprising.

This is not the case further north where research from the United States can influence research pursuits in Canada. In short, I expected to find much research and I was disappointed. Canada and the USA have extensive correctional systems and programming to address prisoners' needs and share reputation for progressive leadership. Also, both countries have active networks of prison activists monitoring correctional developments. Yet, knowing that aspects of education have been features of prison reforms since the late 18th century, the lack of American and Canadian literature concerning teachers teaching in prison is remarkable given the its centrality in writings about prison culture for three centuries.

In "*Readings in Prison Education*," Roberts (1973) compiled significant American works in the field of correctional education and brought together new and varied learning systems aimed at providing prison inmates with the basic skills to open the doors to further training. Furthermore, it proposed to offer a fuller, more satisfying participation in social, political and economic life. Education it was suggested could restore the offender to society. At the time, in spite of the mid-nineteen century reforms which formalized education in prisons (1876), not much was accomplished. In 1931, MacCormick's broad survey indicated that not much was done in American correctional education. In spite of the effort of the Correctional Education Association (1945) and of the *Journal of Correctional Education* (1949), its house organ, nothing had improved in two decades. In fact, according to Albert Roberts nothing improved until the reforms of the 1970s. To suggest improvements he selected 30 articles oriented towards prison reality. He provided a new perspective upon authority which "fused" skill-oriented education, social orientation and personal motivation. All the articles were directed at what and how to educate inmates. Nothing addressed the needs of the correctional educators.

In the American Southwest, Dana Nicole Williams (1989) surveyed the benefits of 350 Community College's sponsored vocational programs offered between 1965 and 1982 in correctional settings. Her participants were prisoners and correctional staff and during research problems emerged between their views about the outcomes. Williams glossed over this point of contention by generalizing that benefits were unclear. However, she also footnoted that faculty members were ill prepared for the differences and incongruities between regular classes and the prison schools and that many were burned-out. This footnote was her only reference to the teachers. Williams never spoke with the teachers nor defined what the differences and incongruities of teaching in prison were. However, she did mention in passing that *faculty members existed and were ill-affected in their performance.*

J. Donald Weir, the Assistant Director of Treatment for the Canadian Penitentiary Service provided an overview of correctional education development during the 100th Annual Congress of Correction (American Correctional Association, October 1970). In Canada as such began in 1835 when Kingston Penitentiary opened. Provisions for the religious education of prisoners of both sexes and for their instruction in writing and reading are found in the 1840 "Goal Regulations." The prisoners were to become familiar with the Bible for their own edification. Until well into the 20th century the routine of the 3-R curriculum with Bible teaching remained. There were no classrooms. The learners remained standing while receiving their instruction. In 1903, Canadian correctional education consisted of four hours of compulsory instruction weekly. It still promulgated cell instruction and the schoolmaster was prohibited from speaking with inmates outside of his teaching task. In 1914, prison authorities started to talk about a more humanitarian approach, but progress was slow. In 1927, lectures were not permitted. In 1933, while individual studies were permitted, no books were provided. At the same time subscriptions to magazines and periodicals were tolerated but subject to rigorous censorship. Thus correctional education remained a limited elementary education and few were exposed to it. In 1938, a Royal Commission report made 88 recommendations and called for a complete reorganization of the correctional education system sufficient to insure the provision of a well-rounded program of adult education structured to meet the needs of the majority of inmates who were found to be academically undereducated, vocationally unskilled and culturally deprived. The proposed curriculum was broad enough to provide programs of academic instruction and cultural enrichment, including recreational as well as physical education. The commission also stressed the importance of recruiting competent and concerned teaching personnel, of providing functional learning facilities including libraries of quality.

World War II derailed implementation of the above changes and in 1946 the task of reform picked up again. In 1947, correspondence courses were obtained from the Department of Veteran Affairs, from various provincial departments of education as well as from extension departments from certain universities. Facilities and teaching staff were augmented and a new Deputy Commissioner was appointed to oversee correctional education with the aid of the Committee on Adult Education to act as consultant to the staff. In 1956, the *Fauteux Inquiry* accentuated personalized educational delivery instead of improving facilities. It stressed the need for long-term goals: correctional education was no longer to be considered as compensation for missed opportunities of childhood but was recognized as an integral part of the correctional process to change the basic behaviour, attitudes and patterns of the offenders. This change was the beginning of what would become "correctional programs of rehabilitation." The key concern was to "instill maturity" in inmates through programs and vocational training intended prepare them to compete in the labour market while also bringing about changes in their behaviour and attitude. The assumption was that such a medical approach would lead inmates to avoid wasting the remainder of their lives in criminal pursuits. Again delays ensued in implementation.

In 1960, the Correctional Planning Committee of the Department of Justice extensively studied federal, provincial and selected correctional systems in the United States, United Kingdom and Europe. The exhaustive report detailed the means of advancing correctional education and of extending possibilities of inmates to acquire vocational and occupational skills. The Committee agreed that the standards of training should be good enough to meet provincial and union standards including recognition and certification upon completion. Therefore and supposedly, training would be in keeping with regional economy and facilitate job placement and economic competence. Moreover the Committee suggested implementing a program of research to determine the effective value of the correctional education program in relation to various categories of inmates.

What followed Committee recommendations was a ten-year plan (1963-73) implementing the most significant reforms to correctional education ever. The Canadian Penitentiary Service [previous name of the Correctional Service of Canada] built new facilities[3] and hired 60 full-time academic staff augmented by librarians, teacher-interns, and professionals from adjacent communities to the institutions. The 58 institutions were located in eight provinces and the correctional education curriculum and qualifications of staff now met provincial requirements. This change allowed the programs to gain provincial and union recognition and certification. The greatest need for correctional education was at the elementary and secondary levels. However, there was to be no ceiling on the educational opportunities as education became a vehicle for self-improvement of inmates which the institutions should not act as barrier.

> This is how Weir assessed the reform results:
> Choice and initiative must rest with the individual student. Within limits we try to teach that which the student desires to learn...rather than emphasize the forms and patterns, we are looking at new ideas based upon learning and change in the learner, which results inevitably in the nature of the program being altered to fit the group being educated. Academic and vocational training emphasized by correctional educators are legitimate paths to future success in middle-class society. *However, they are not compatible with the attitudes and values of many inmate representatives of the poverty sub-culture to which these goals have little relevance.* We had to alter the emphasis with many of our culturally deprived inmates in order to provide them with programs which meet them where they are, have immediate significance, and are compatible with their values. Initially, we try to concentrate on small group relationships loosely structured and *use learning to relieve boredom in the immediate setting, rather than aiming at literacy or academic subjects which are merely prerequisites for more of the same.* It is recognized that there is no better vehicle to increase public awareness of the plight and deficiencies of the convicted than *having community educators come in the prison to offer specialized courses. In this manner, a wider variety of courses is offered...making more effective use of funds.* Thus, correctional programs in Canada generally are turning more and more to the resources available in the communities. *The idea of purchasing educational services* is seen in its broader context and means much more than hiring staff to teach courses...

In his rendition of the administrative aspects of the correctional education enterprise Weir failed to report how far it had already drifted from the broad concepts of public Adult Education stated by the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) which it had claimed to subscribe to and support in 1963. Established in 1935, the CAAE was the recognized national professional organization supporting public Adult Education activities. CAAE had gradually and politically superseded other groups [i.e. YMCA/WMCA, the Women's Institutes, volunteer and church groups and provincial organizations] providing skills training, personal development, leisure activities and even professional development to ethnic groups, the elderly and specially targeted populations in urban and rural areas.

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[3] The system grew from 35 to 58 institutions.

The CAAE's position on "continuing" education was unequivocal. The concept of continuing education was part of the cultural framework. The CAAC (*White Paper* 1970) stated:

> There is no one who cannot learn something. We cannot as a society continue to write off one group as unintelligent in favour of those who learn quickly and well. There are people at any age who are capable of learning different things with different degree of skill. We must as a society respond to all of them. In a society where learning is the norm, non- learners tend to become destructive members. They are unable to adjust to changes and sometimes feel they must protect themselves against change. In the kind of society we have today -in Canada today- *learning should be the fifth freedom.*

Internationally, this perspective was endorsed by the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), founded in 1973 and by UNESCO, an agency of the United Nations responsible and developing programs to support initiatives of member countries in reaching their goals of being and functioning as civil societies. Yet, despite the reform, criminologists and prison administrators still considered education a marginal and underrated correctional function. The medical model of intervention resulted in therapeutic and corrective strategies aiming to address deficiencies. The medical model was greatly influenced by various biologic/organic, social and psychological causality theories. Correctional education so far subscribed to the panoptical tradition and the modernization of facilities since 1963, the new architecture reinforced technical control and the visibility of inmates: to see, to observe, to examine, to know is related to institutional intellectual knowledge and to its power to control and dominate. This spatial focus came under attack, in the late 70s, because it affected the inmates' capacities and desire to improve as human beings and resulted in a moral and intellectual paralysis (Morin, 1982: 19-20). Then a new "educational model" was advocated for prisons.

In 1982, Lucien Morin "*L' Education en prison*" justified correctional education as "the only hope for a *system which had become a secure storage space for society's rejects* to turn out democratic citizens" (18-19). Its rationale was based upon 19 North-American articles and studies written between 1972 – 1980 advocating the importance of correctional education and describing educational programs that could work to rehabilitate inmates and prevent recidivism. The educational model placed the human function of education at the heart of incarceration and it assumed deficiencies in the intellectual and moral development and formation. Seventeen authors were university professors proposed a field of studies based in the Humanities reflecting a conviction (!982: 13) that it would be best to offer to inmates an education based upon a profound vision of God, of man, of nature and society, a vision of man as a project under construction and of the lifespan as an inexhaustible source of creative possibility. It seemed feasible at the time, but implementation would test the vision and blur it.

In 1980, Douglas K. Griffin, an experienced Canadian correctional educator (CE) disclosed for the first time aspects of teaching in prison during these reforms when he addressed the Correctional Education Association (Nashville, Tennessee, July 1980) about the desirable competencies of CEs. He made two important points. [1]Correctional educators will succeed in gaining a perspective of what competencies they require when they stop accepting other people's ideas of what the correctional environment is and does. [2] They will also reject the definition of the place they occupy according to that definition when they reject it. Then, he proceeded to provide his definition:

> The correctional system is a form of re-education and we have an essential role in it…the role of the correctional educator stays tied to our [institutional] specific needs but it is also related to the role of education as a whole. Its goal s to provide individuals not only with the necessary competencies required to gain and secure employment, but also with the capacity needed to take healthy and responsible moral decisions…We will not gain credibility if we talk of lectures, writings, mathematics and professional competencies. What we do must have relevance to the inmate…A CE must understand the difference between an uneducated person and an uneducated inmate. This difference will allow him to define the nature of the work.

He summarized the competencies for their unusual task:

1. competencies enabling students to overcome cognitive shortcomings contributing to deficiencies in the decision making process;
2. competencies based upon comprehension of the cognitive processes; and
3. the ability to assist delinquents correct their perceptions and conceptualizations which gave them a sense of the world and impact their actions/reactions.

Recalling his experience he admitted being challenged in creating a classroom learning dynamic and in his psychological views. After two days, he shifted his approach and attempted socio-economic discussions. Two weeks later, he abandoned the approach because he was unprepared for the violent emotional responses of 15 inmates and found himself unprepared to fight against the hostility directed at himself as a representative of his social class and against alienated rationalisations and self-justifications. Thus, he retreated and adopted the same measures as other CEs. By addressing only immediate questions, focusing upon individual work and restricting discussion, he functioned in the classroom. His curriculum consisted of studying the multiplication and division of fractions and of Wordsworth's use and construction of metaphors and imagery. Due to isolation – he said he was the only teacher in the school– he lacked support, materials and resources to do other activities.

Gradually, to avoid anti-social manifestations and to gain acceptance from his students, he began to approve their social analyses and victimization. In retrospect, he admitted his error as an educator, because he was not paid to pay lip service to warped visions of the world. Although he dithered, saying it might not be dishonest on a personal basis; on a professional one he called it "dishonest." Welton (1995) would call it bad teaching. Griffin preserved his lifeworld and did what was convenient for him. By declining to reflect upon his version of the world he missed the opportunity to gain additional social perspective. Regardless, Griffin kept his employment in corrections and identified with it.

Griffin generalized his belief that educators want their students to succeed and hope that students will appreciate learning and gain a new world perspective. He owned up to the fact that after these many years as a CE, everyday, he wants to get to the end of the day without loosing a student and without an explosion of violence. He mentioned procedural problems and administrative limitations of prison impinging upon CEs' responsibilities to not only teach a subject but also to challenge entrenched values, social attitudes, perceptions and defence mechanisms. The latter would be an enormous task within penitentiaries and he conceded doubting the outcomes. "The educator attempting to discuss social, political and ethical problems will shortly realize that he sets a chain reaction and must be prepared to reap its consequences. If he is not, it is better for him to avoid these topics." Ambiguously, he added that confronting these issues would be a real opportunity to positively influence the life of the students and to make teaching interesting and enriching while contributing to address problems of representation resulting in teachers and education being treated superficially. He identified a major shortcoming of the majority of CEs: "...they have never been in a situation where they are obliged to analyse their values with sufficient intensity to face the prison situation." He had stated the paradox of teaching in Canadian prisons and for 15 years nothing else would be said about it.

Germsheid (1985) conducted correctional education research by exploring the apparent disparities between normative and descriptive goals of education within the CSC policy (pre-privatization), and reported their undermining impact upon the delivery of educational services. As he left the CEs out of the research process, there is no indication of the impact upon them. Soon, a new debate and reform would redirect correctional education.

Correctional education delivery was privatized in 1987 and implementation was gradually expanded to 1989. Stephen Duguid's body of research during that time bridged the pre- and post-privatization periods even if he did not highlight this feature in his research. As early as 1972, Duguid had advocated for rehabilation through education and in the period preceding privatization, Duguid (1986) continually questioned the value of education to rehabilitation by offering two divergent interpretations of prison education programs: literacy and liberal university education. After privatization, institutional justifications of correctional education became vital to its development and from 1990 onward, Duguid explored the effect of educational contents and outcomes upon recidivism. However, because the longitudinal data were incomplete, the preliminary research report failed to convince correctional authorities and cancellation of many university outreach programs occurred in 1994. The final research report (Duguid, Hawkey and Pawson, 1996) came too late to revive the Simon Fraser University (British Columbia) outreach programs' existence. This occurrence led Duguid to refocus his research interest and to examine how contents and outcomes influence the relationship between thinking and acting; and subsequently, between thinking and crime (Duguid, 1999). Based on longitudinal data gathered from university students who had been prisoners, Duguid concluded that recidivism could only decrease when the sense of individual identity of the ex-prisoners was replaced by the anonymity and status of being university students and with the opportunity of social mobility accessed through a liberal university education (2000). In other words, to stay away from crime better opportunities had to be available and accessible: anonymity and university level education made it possible for ex-prisoners to re-invent themselves successfully. With his focus upon liberal education, he repeatedly discounted the impact of literacy education upon recidivism even if its importance would rest on making access to a liberal education possible. Finally, Duguid consistently did not consider the impact of the teaching relationship upon recidivist outcomes. Yet, teacher-training programs emphasise teachers' influence on learning and on its outcomes because they are the ones managing the learning environment and because they affect the identity of students by how they interact with them. Nonetheless, Duguid continuously left the educators out of the equation, as if they did not matter.

After privatization became a feature of correctional education, Davidson's (1995) *Schooling in a "Total Institution"* emphasized the educational and professional quandaries created by the educational mandates found in American and Canadian penal settings. The book contributors were specialists who have been involved with various correctional education projects; they were critical of the given mandates and of their outcomes. They provide evidence of inconsistencies between the ideology of rehabilitation, the limitations imposed by the mandate of detention upon the mandate of education, and the aim of promoting and facilitating rehabilitation by turning criminals into contributing citizens. The major drawback to this informative book was that Davidson left out of the discourse and self-understandings of the teachers who worked in prison on a daily basis.

In Davidson's book the contributors had arms-length relationships with the prison. Even if the authors had entered prison over extended hours, or days, or over periods of months they had still remained outside of the immediate realm of the prison and were less subject to its influences by the fact that their affiliation remained with their universities and individual specializations. They identified themselves as "…teachers who are historians, sociologists, criminologists and educators who taught university-level courses…and students who have participated…" (Davidson 1995: xv) and who had learned from the experience. The basis of their unity as co-authors rested not in their varied approaches to their critique of correctional education but in the fact that "the contributors uniformly do not refer to themselves as correctional educators" (xvii). This avoidance of identification both excluded and silenced correctional educators from participating and engaging in the correctional education discourse.

The avoidance of identification with CEs is significant and reflects an "us/them" perception clarified by Davidson:

> We are not in the business of rehabilitating prisoners. We are not so unconscious of how structural conditions influence human agency as to claim that schooling alone is going to improve students' opportunities to get jobs and avoid being sent back to prison. We understand that

> education in any form is not a neutral technology that can be detached from the context in which it takes place. Yet we are not so obtuse to our own experiences and forgetful of our own histories that we would deny that education can make a difference. The operational definition of success accepted in the literature of correctional education is to reduce the rate of recidivism. This measure of success is not accepted here [in the contributions]...and remain[s] subject to interrogation (xvii).

These distinctions, generalizations and presuppositions about CEs hide their specific differences from the CCEs and also exclude them all from participating in the necessary critical discourse of correctional education and/or from accessing support for change. If change is to come it will have to break through this wall of differences and emerge from within the insider groups (i.e. the CEs and CCEs) with the support of academic researchers and others.

Adult education is exceedingly complex because of the array of its possible activities, scope and settings. Three Canadian researchers had already attempted to bridge the gap between its ideals and practice in prisons. Patricia Fox (1994) documents the lack of application in prison of Malcolm Knowles' principles of Adult Education (1980). Fox *observed* the rituals of education in a Manitoba federal prison and concluded that Knowles' principles were missing from practices. When she found that only one teacher in the school had Adult Education credentials, she used this to justify the absence of the practices: teachers could not apply what they did not know. To the reader, the lack of preparation seemed to be the responsibility of the teachers in the school; yet, even when her surveys of inmates and correctional staff revealed that teachers were perceived as "marginal," she failed to explain why. Who coined the term "marginal" and what it meant were unclear. Were teachers marginal because of the lack of adult education credentials, or marginal to the functioning of the prison, or marginal because they no longer belonged to the institution? Neither did she ask the teachers how they saw themselves nor did she question employment practices allowing "marginal teachers" to teach for rehabilitation. This made me wonder if her research findings may have been influenced by the effects of privatization which was being implemented at the site during the time of her research. As there was no copy of the survey the details remained unavailable. Thus, Fox's research suggests that even survey methods have limitations that may be overcome with more in-depth and experience-based methods. Taking Fox's research into consideration, my research directs attention at how and why contracted correctional educators are marginalized. It also looks at how they perceive themselves prior to hiring and during employment.

Meanwhile, in Quebec, Karmen Pross (1995) used the case study approach to *observe and compare* the teaching practices between one juvenile, a provincial and two federal institutional settings. On the English version of her abstract, Pross concluded that the relevance of schooling for detainees was directly influenced by the proximity of the legislated authority. Pross generalized that for adults in federal settings, the longer the sentence, the more the teaching function became blurred with other forms of supervised activities also aimed at preventing institutional trouble.

One oddity in Pross's research was the inconsistency between the English and French versions. I eliminated the many difficulties that might have arisen through translation by obtaining and reviewing both versions before reaching these following conclusions. Working across two different linguistic traditions appears to have accidentally but inadequately addressed the agency/structure dynamic of prison life which had previously been lacking. The French version insisted that she had set out to research how teachers *lived their role* in correctional settings rather than researching the *relevancy of schooling* as stated in the English version. In the English version, Pross emphasized the *institutional function* of schooling over the *lived role* and so shifted her focus from teachers to individual detainees and social structures. To understand the comportment of teachers, Pross conducted semi-structured interviews with four teachers, their Directors of Education, their Supervisors and some students. Although Pross knew two of the teachers prior to research, all participating teachers and students were "chosen" by the Directors and Supervisors. The institutional role of the teacher was thus defined by the administrators and supervisors and surpassed the intended academic task: the role became a cross between parental (mother/father), non-judgemental listener and social worker. In fact, generalizations were made between three separate settings which do not lend themselves easily to such generalization because conditions varied too much.

Findings pertaining to overall correctional education practices had to be teased out of the various sections. For example it then revealed that the institutional days were shorter than in the public schools; that the students-teacher ratio ranged from 8:1 but never exceeded 15:1; and that there was no planning time because the delivery was module based to allow students to progress at their own pace. Therefore, there was no group objective and credits were earned according to the program of study engaged in. Classroom assistance was provided individually upon verbal or written request. Only one teacher gave any kind of regular testing, "a weekly dictation to all his students." The first part of each teaching day was spent doing the necessary paperwork required by the institutions. Prison lock-downs and security measures superseded schooling and the teachers were expected to show up, regardless of these interruptions. In one classroom, "an armed guard was positioned overhead, on a metal gangway" and from there did "admonish prison-learners." In another institution, teachers worked on a part-time basis and their shifts minimized the possibility of professional rapport between them. There was no questioning nor independent evaluation of these facts despite their potential implication to the functionalist English translation of the abstract.

*Pedagogically*, Pross found that it was the quality of rapport between teachers and their students which mattered the most to directors and supervisors; and that by this, they meant the degree of support and reinforcement of learning provided in the personal approach of teachers to make learning attractive to prison-learners. Credentials (although the teachers had them) were not the first priority of students who were more impressed by their teachers' personalities. Yet, administrators reminded Pross that teachers' personalities had to be compatible with the institutions. I detail Pross's "desirable personality" characteristics in Chapter Three. I used them to form a template allowing me to assess the characteristics of the participants and in order to provide a better generalization of the desirable and undesirable personality traits of teachers likely to engage themselves in correctional education. Again, Pross did not question the adequacy of this category and its effect on her findings despite the fact that previously mentioned correctional education practices contradict popular notions of classroom didactic and of teacher-student rapport.

For Pross, a category had employment relevance and it pertained to training, differences and security. Pross identified that *training* was provided in two possible ways: orientation and training. Orientation of recruits to the establishment, its personnel and services took place prior to finalizing employment. Once approved, the candidate experienced a few days of introduction to the school, its approach and in certain places, to their colleagues before becoming employed. For those who entered the federal institution, after a few weeks, an additional 2-3 days were spent at the Regional Training Centre but the exact nature of the training received there was not divulged by the director nor the supervisor and Pross appears to have missed enquiring. Otherwise, training was optional and self-directed but sporadic: three of the four teachers took college courses in psychiatry and there were mentions of attending seminars and conferences. This research shows some similarities. They might be more indicative of systemic attitudes towards the resocialization of teachers than of the nature and value of correctional training.

Pross noted some significant *differences* to employment. In Quebec, 75% of all correctional teachers were women. The directors and supervisors explained that these women raised their families and returned to work and that the presence of women was perceived as positive upon inmates. Three female teachers agreed and a male inmate stated that as a whole, inmates are more polite and mannered with these women because there is no power struggle, as with the men. Another two male inmates indicated that male teachers were preferable to females because of the risk of being sexually stimulated by the presence or proximity to a woman. One of the students stipulated that over time that they, as sexual offenders, had learned to suppress sexual desire and impulses which a woman could re-evoke and memories, which they preferred to avoid "*en-dedans*." Pross side-stepped the sexual issue and casually mentioned that attraction did develop between teacher and students before closing the topic. However, in juxtaposing natural sexual attraction, heterosexual attraction, and sexual crime with one another, they all appear wrong; thus, when the need for female teachers to be more circumspect than males is implied, she added that teachers-student interactions were observed, noticed and even suspicious to inmates and correctional observers without looking at their underpinning assumptions. This research addresses the implications of correctional settings' generic suspicion towards female CCEs, the individual and collective effects of this suspicion, and the consequences of suspected or active attraction/relationship with an inmate.

Pross reported that teachers were *unafraid*. She mentioned security measures implemented by the institutions and observed by the teachers; the personal alarms worn and the presence of guards in schools and even the "passerelle" from which they could intervene in the classroom. This, she explained, surpassed the security of public schools. She, and those who toured an institution with her, felt reassured.

Overall, Pross initiated an interesting field of research but she failed to grasp the implications of certain answers or lack of answers in her analysis and evaluation. Examination of her interview questions indicate unexplained biases and that, thematically, half of her interview questions remained either, unasked or unanswered. One possible explanation could be that these themes were discarded to make the data more manageable, after all she did mention having over 400 pages of transcription and becoming overwhelmed.

However, it is also possible that Pross's naïveté may have contributed to her accepting answers from her participants at face value. This could explain why some topics were left hanging. Her participants were specifically and administratively chosen rather than self-selected; therefore, the participants' compunction to adhere to administrative expectations cannot be negated. Illustrating this point, Pross did admit that, in the settings she visited, an andragogical orientation was lacking; that educational facilities, material, and space were less appealing than the administrative or even the recreation sections of the institutions; observations which had left her with the initial impression that education was less important than these other services but she also said that the research had changed her mind about these aspects without showing why.

I pondered this change of opinion as significant given the fact that the educational conditions had not changed. What had changed her mind? Was it her exposure to the personalities and to the discourses of the participants? The responses had certainly been successful in making correctional education attractive to her. However, the administrator and the inmate responses to the possible cancellation of correctional education programs were more revealing in suggesting the importance of institutional systems and their effects on correctional education: for example, the administrator says, "It won't happen, it is legally mandated," and an inmate says, " . . . inmates would riot." In this research, conducted away from prison settings, the volunteer participants recall stepping into this breach and document their first-hand experiences and their effects upon their practices, their lives and themselves; and as they move away from scripted expected responses their language offers another way of seeing prison and its educational realities. Methodologically, Pross's findings suggest that data about lived-experience might provide a valuable source for understanding both CCE agency and prison structures.

In 1998, Linda Selme, an Edmonton Literacy Coordinator for the John Howard Society (Alberta), produced the findings of her examination and assessment of the educational program and resources available to federally incarcerated women in the Edmonton Institution for Women (EIFW) (i.e., as the new correctional setting emerged after 1996). When measured against the recommendations of the Creating Choices (1990) document, Selme remarked on the focus upon Literacy (below grade 10) despite the presence of innovative technology, new materials and new approaches allowing education to address future needs. She found space and resources lacking given the current interests and needs of the students. Consequently, she recorded the prisoners' mixed feelings towards education, training and teachers. Attempting to address the issues and the concerns of students, she recommended adding personnel or/and volunteers. She omitted to recognize the strategic and physical limitations affecting such additions. In speaking with two EIFW teachers and a volunteer, Selme documented and mentioned evidence of their stresses and frustrations with multi-tasking, constraints, and administration. She experienced the effects of constraints implemented by the prison bureaucracy upon her own research. In addition, it also showed how a lack of communication with the administration delayed the completion of her research and jeopardized her Master's degree at a later stage in her research. However, Selme missed establishing similarities between her situation and that of the two teachers and did not investigate the planning nor the administrative decision-making processes. My concurrent and subsequent policy research (Barrette 1998c; 1999a) identified disparities between normative and descriptive goals of education and research and how these disparities undermine outcomes, deliveries and impacts. In this research, the CCEs reveal the underpinnings of these processes and the consequences of their estrangement from them.

The next two studies differ from Pross and Selme's because the authors address the gap between teaching and researching in prison. When Carol Mullen (1997a) first entered the prison to research she subsequently and simultaneously became involved in volunteering, co-facilitating, coordinating and teaching. As a result, during a two year period, she experienced how institutional response towards her changed and reported how the changed response manifested and why she experienced tensions, marginalization, and mistrust in the prison and from the prison as a living entity, and from prisoners when she crossed the line between being a covert enquirer to becoming a participating observer of the institutional attitudes and practices (14-17). The knowledge she gained in each of her overlapping roles and functions and the access they granted her to operations, programs, staff, and inmates resulted in conflicts (16) while prison restrictions (15) impinged upon her research and her work (30-31). Amongst others, Mullen recounted her volunteer creative writing activities being terminated (32) and the intimidating and dismissive inquiries of guards (78-79) and enduring frustration and fears for the sake of completing her research, she referenced them to institutional politics and to intimidating practices. Thus, she came to realize being imprisoned herself; consequently at one level, her dissertation demonstrates the power of the prison over bodies, mentalities, dreams, and academe.

Mullen did not stop at the initial completion and publication of her research and, subsequently, speaking at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Chicago, March 24-28, 1997), she conveyed the jarring moral dimension of her prison experience, likening it to "being on a carousel, where you ride on and on, and go nowhere but up and down" (Mullen 1997b). The summations of her dissertation and speech have to be considered together because in the AERA speech she voiced a deeper personal experience partially missing from the correctional and academically sanctioned research report version. Thus, in speaking outside these spheres she took an unprecedented step in speaking out for herself while managing to offer an insightful and reflective perspective of her experience in a correctional education setting.

Similarly, Susan Tilley (1998) experienced professional ambiguity and political difficulty when she taught in a British Columbia institution and also became involved with prison practice as a researcher. The duality of her roles affected the pre-established classroom relationship with her students, and because they opposed the institutionally granted access (there was no indication of their informed consent having been sought or obtained], they resisted the research effort. When Tilley found out that the previously established familiarity of the classroom was replaced by mistrust, her resulting academic and personal dilemmas compromised the duality of her teaching and research activities. Refocusing her research on the captive group allowed her to reduce her professional tensions and to meet academic requirements, but it also modified the nature of her experience when she conformed to the institutional expectations of studying prisoners instead of herself. It was a reminder that although correctional procedures had been followed and permission for research had been granted, they lacked consideration for the individuals who would be studied. From this assessment I retained the practice of stating up front my research agenda when approaching people and in that way they could choose to answer or not. This became very important in developing my informant network.

I could not help noticing that where Mullen had stepped out and forward to break new personal and academic grounds, Tilley had stepped back and stayed in her tracks. Here divergent interpretations of prison educational programs, literacy, and post-graduate university level education influenced the relationship between thinking and acting, and subsequently, between thinking and research by affecting the sense of individual identity of the authors while they both pursued credibility and credentials. I wondered how different and similar we were, as I identified the presence and dangers of "cooptation by credentials" in all three of our transitions from prison to academe, and back.

This literature review exhausted the topic of "prison teachers and teaching in prison" and leaves readers with a very limited understanding of prison education and even less of its correctional educators. At the time, it left me, both more hopeful and fearful than when I was looking for information and support during my experience.

## Return to the Research Question

For whatever reasons, the lack of research about prison teachers, correctional educators and specifically, contracted correctional educators indicates a general lack of interest towards their experiences. Is it that it does not matter what happens to them? Are they not important because it is assume that they don't affect delivery and outcomes? This research assumes that teachers matter, and so does their professional uniqueness and their prison experience and it takes on the task of documenting and assessed in the depth and detail those experiences.

Furthermore, this research takes on the task of further exploring the ambiguities and difficulties of crossing the line between prison teaching and prison researching. It explores the social and moral dilemmas and the increasingly difficult environments that teachers may face on a daily basis before they individually realize that there may be no middle ground between their previous indifference and their increasing individual moral turmoil. In other words, that much of this turmoil goes with the territory, and along with an analysis of the personal experiences, there is a further requirement to analyze the institutional territory itself – or in following Pross – to study the relationship between individual agency and institutional structures as two sides of the same coin. What I had experienced and called, "breaking away from polarities" (Barrette 1997a), Mulled had referred to as "riding the carrousel . . . and going nowhere" (1997a; b). Was this common? As a researcher the opportunity to provide relevant research was irresistible.

> …the question is the path to knowledge…we say that a question 'occurs' to us, that it 'arises' or 'present itself' more than we raise it or present it…logically considered, the negativity of experience implies a question. In fact we have experiences when we are shocked by things that do not accord with our expectations. Thus questioning is more a passion than an action. A question presses itself on us; we can no longer avoid it and [it] persist[s]…(Gadamer 1995: 364, 366)

My initial prison reaction, the De Profundis (reported in page 1), and the two metaphorical expressions were sufficient to make me ask *"What is the experience of contracted correctional educators?"* and to pursue the investigation and mapping of the territory of the prison as a socio-historical systemic structure into which CEEs are suddenly "thrown" and which enables and constrains their action.

## II. Prison Workers and their Work

While my literature search on the relationship between teaching and prison may have left a few studies unattended, it still demonstrates the lack of research on teacher lived-experience and its potential for elucidating important aspects of a CCEs life. However, in looking beyond teachers to prison workers in general, I have assumed that there may be commonalities for all prison workers of which teachers would form a sub-category. In my attempt to gain some understanding of the difficulties of working in prison I first looked again at the research done in the United States and Canada and found that they relied for the most part upon empirical research and statistical analysis.

In Alabama, Lindquist and Whitehead (1986) *surveyed* a representative sample of 241 correctional officers, and identified stress and predictor variables, including role conflict, as difficult aspects of the work environment. Next, Grossi (1989) investigated the relationship between "stressors" (stressful aspects) and the coping mechanisms of 106 correctional officers. He determined that role problems seemed to have the strongest impact on job stress. Rush followed their line of enquiry (1990) and *surveyed* 103 juvenile probation officers hoping for different results in this softer working environment. When he found 30% of his sample to be "cynical," he established correlations between the levels of role conflict and the degree of worker alienation and cynicism. Then, Mahmud (1993) examined the relationship between training and worker alienation in three institutions by *mailing surveys* to 901 staff. Only 42.1% or 380 were usable for the study and he then conducted multiple-regression analysis which revealed that training had a positive influence in reducing work-alienation; but, only when it related to specialization and job advancement.

In Canada, during the early1990s, mass empirical quantitative studies were conducted by the Correctional Service of Canada, Human Resource Development Department replicating American research. In 1992, three articles[4] reported similar findings to the American, about Canadian correctional officers (COs). *Stress and Burnout* (9-10) identified their stress factors and indicators that were identical to the American ones. Then, in *Commitment, Attitudes, Career Aspirations and Work Stress: The Experience of Correctional Staff* (16-24), the 654 participants, "mostly male staff (sic)," were randomly selected by computer to fill questionnaires. Some (no number provided) select interviews followed. The researchers concluded that the attitude, commitment and responses to stress can be positive as long as career mobility remains an option. Yet, I remarked that 52.9% of participants had reported being very angry or frustrated in their job, and that 45% felt under a lot of pressure at work. Also, senior management had not been surveyed, so the findings did not address the issues of stagnation. The final article, *Exposure to Critical Incidents: What are the Effects on Canadian Correctional Officers?* (31-36) was original and explored the effects of trauma experienced in the line of duty and of post-traumatic stress disorder manifestations in 122 officers who had been exposed to trauma. The conclusion was that the "effects were disabling." I noted that 71% of the COs was male, yet the article failed to address any gendered factors, issues, or any specific differences in the findings. To reach such a conclusion, the documented traumatic incidents were first compiled; then ranked in order of stress prevalence; and finally, correlated to subsequent performance indicators and employment longevity. From the article, it was impossible to determine if it was the researchers or the COs themselves who did the stress prevalence ranking. Surely, having the participant in the event doing the ranking would yield a different result than having a third party doing it. The potential for the "muddle process" affecting results set my determination to let participants do their own evaluations even if they differed in their assessments from mine.

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[4] Issue devoted to Staff, *Forum*, Volume 4, Number 1, 1992.

I only indicated my strongest objections to these research reports because the articles were only overviews (or I hope, so) of the research reports. I requested but could not obtain copies of the complete original reports. Correctional research, such as these, leaves me sceptical because it is mechanical, functional, and superficial. However, while each of these articles explored one aspect of stress, role conflict and role adaptation, training and employment mobility, or traumas, none had combined nor explored the cumulative effects of these factors in the process of adaptation to a new and obviously perilous environment. Additionally, no one had questioned how these findings could apply to other groups/individuals, such as teachers, who might face the same environment, pressures and possibly comparable stress and trauma. All we know is that in the prison, all groups and individuals are subjected to similar forms of control.

## III. Control

Weber's definition of control "speaks of action insofar as a subjective meaning is attached to behaviour [overt or covert), omission or acquiescence. Action is social when its subjective meaning takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course" (in Gibbs 1989: 54). Control is also more inclusive than interaction because of possible inanimate and biotic control, but the conceptual link between control and action is even more complicated.

In 1981, Lucien Lombardo published the results of six years of participant observation and systematic interviews with correctional officers to explore their work, motivations and experiences. Thus, he demonstrated that the prison affected its workers as much as it does the prisoners and that no one was impervious to the prison experience even if everyone seemed to think that they were strong and immune to the controlling influence of the prison. COs who believed that prison effects would not happen to them failed to realize how insidious prison fear and control were, until it was too late. Lombardo described how *shaping* took place while pressures and ways of coping (111-142) worked their effects upon the individuals and upon their lives. In reference to prison control, he revealed that the mechanisms of control were maintained and reinforced through similar ones used by prisoners: by rules, by peer groups, by silence, by corruption of power, and in conflict with authority (management) and by prison professionalism.

### Prison or Correctional Professionalism

Kalinich and Pitcher (1984: 159-169) defined prison professionalism as the professional status acquired through training and by what is institutionally determined as the proper attitudes and practices for correctional work. Thus, outside professionals who enter the prison complex on a permanent basis are not considered to be correctional *professionals* until they meet internal standards through mandatory institutional training and internships.

The stages in correctional professionalism are followed when the occupation has attained professional status through the establishment of a single association and when a Code of Ethics, agreed upon by the association and institution, establishes rules and regulations of conduct. This narrow approach to "professionalism" defines beliefs, attitudes, and performance according to what the correctional goals of the institution are in the daily performance of the occupation.

Not all professionals have the same philosophical approach to their work. According to Vaughn Alward (1982), in the prison, philosophical disparity is perceived as reflecting positively upon the institution when, regardless of the institution being a custody function supporting a treatment orientation, all can still be and feel professionals in their work.

### Resistance

Although, Gibbs concluded that a "control attempt can be resisted only if recognized . . . and critics will deny control attempt implying that control is always conscious and deliberate…" (1989: 75), it remains that ". . . control attempts may be commonly the most evil and/or dangerous . . .unreflective and habitual" (75). According to this, when concurrent and competing demands implying differentiation of activities merge with a simultaneous concern with efficiency, then uncritical conformity with tradition and acceptance of structural properties of hierarchies such as bureaucracies, schools and prisons are deemed rational and expedient. If it is, it is not surprising that the rationale for resistance can be obscured and co-opted, if the time to be most aware of the dangers of control is at the time when we are less likely to be aware!

In the prison, both the chaplains (James 1990) and the medical personnel (Wheeler 1969) faced professional ethical issues and challenged prison professionalism and the resulting outcomes, their recognition as correctional professionals, played itself out differently. Their professional challenges provide interesting and informative precedents for any group aspiring to correctional professional status or to fight control.

## The Chaplains' experience

In 1990, Reverend Canon J.T.L. James, Associate Director of Chaplaincy for the Correctional Service of Canada, was *commissioned* to write the 150 year history of the Chaplaincy. This was a significant political and institutional recognition of the contribution of the clergy and of religion to the moral makings of honest citizens and to the good order of the prison system. The Chaplains were first charged (1836) with supplying religious influence in the penitentiaries. Then by a statute (1851), they became the first inmate record keepers and chroniclers of prison life, the first librarians, the first counsellors; and in 1870, the first secular teachers. Most Chaplains repeatedly asked for change and reforms aimed at improving the lot of prisoners and staff and their reports and correspondence attest to the facts. With only six federal penitentiaries in existence, Chaplains were not organized as they are today but they were a select group; they had powerful political and religious allies and high reputation in the community. The penal reforms and construction explosion which marked the Sixties forced remarkable changes for them.

In reference to the contracted correctional educators of today, the Chaplains' history has another implication: one of struggle due to a divided loyalty between Church and institution which could no longer be ignored and could only be appeased with the official recognition of this fact in 1968. From their division of loyalty the Chaplains' resistance to prison professionalism had emerged as early as in 1843. They had constantly faced and forced the issue with the support of their religious superiors who reminded the secular employer that they were under the sublime authority of God, in their pastoral care of inmates and workers. It took over a hundred years but it worked and even public opinion protested their proposed cutback.

In 1966, CSC appealed to the Canadian Council of Churches (CCC) and organized the Chaplaincy and its terms of reference, as a distinct division within CSC (1968). The move cancelled the power of the Churches to appoint Chaplains and gave that authority to the CCC until 1970, when CSC took back this responsibility. In creating this division CSC had also implemented an Inter-faith Committee (IFC) to advise on the development of an inter-faith ministry which moved Chaplains away from exclusive ministry and doctrine in order to become more responsive. In other words, the CSC had created a Church in the Penitentiary and reduced the Chaplains' appointment to 5-10 years. When the IFC and CCC tried to define the parameters of the Chaplains they found that the hiring of Chaplains had been given over to the Public Service Commission of Canada (PSC) and in 1971 they issued a Position Paper claiming a more explicit "ownership" of the Chaplaincy.

In 1973, the Chief of Chaplaincy in CSC advised the IFC that the government was appointing a single "Honorary Coordinating Chaplain" for each of the eleven community correctional centers (completed in 1974). In 1975, the Chaplain-General advised the IFC of the transfer of a staff Chaplain to the position of Coordinating Chaplain and received no objection. Over the next three years more changes were made and positions were not filled until the crisis erupted when economic measures froze positions and cutbacks slashed budgets. IFC appealed to the Commissioner but it was too late to save another five Chaplains made redundant; in three years the number of Chaplains had been reduced from 32 to 16 and all public service positions were eliminated. To pacify the Churches and public outcry, in 1980, a Task Force promised of service contracts which IFC initially rejected and then accepted.

Because CSC contracted the clergy's services, this "contract model" gave the churches ownership and accountability for their ministry. It also demonstrated that contrary to the dominant and contemporary government ideology, privatized service delivery or "private-public partnerships" is not a new and innovative concept but rather has a long and somewhat discredited history. Insofar as the clergy functioned in the institutions, their work was under the supervision of the institutional authorities which were responsible for the provision of facilities and resources. Contract terms called for five years, after one year on probation, with a possible five-year extension. Although contract chaplains were to be recognized as staff, this proved difficult and impossible when peace officer status was invoked or involved. This led to contract chaplains being treated as second-class to "real" staff chaplains. In 1982, IFC made new recommendations but they were not implemented. Increasingly, IFC became involved in the recruitment, screening, training and evaluation of chaplains who are now more likely to be deacons, volunteers, and lay people than actual fully ordained priests and ministers.

For over a hundred years the Chaplains made their mark upon the penitentiaries and in 20 years they lost it all when they became professionally organized and gained professional status according to its institutional definition. IFC can say that they were able to move with the times; first by adopting an interfaith ministry and second, by including women since 1980 to respond to the needs of an increasingly diverse prison population. However, the Chaplains knew they had also become public servants and subsequently discovered how susceptible they had become to the vagaries of public policies, administration, and economics. When they attempted to become flexible to meet the administrative needs instead of spiritual needs they loss the implacable strength and righteousness which made them morally untouchable. First, they were culled; then, they were "contracted." Now, they barely figure in the right to worship.

Although the teachers cannot claim such august authority as God's, there are elements of moral and ethical authority within the teaching profession and in the legal authority vested by the provincial Ministries of Education. Of course, if CSC does not heed such authorities so it is almost obsolete even to attempt to refer to them; even if and when their influences remain for the teachers. Also, the fact that chaplains were hired on a contractual basis as members of the Church shows that the push for privatizations looks as much to the past as it might to the future. Future research might draw some interesting parallels with the current development privatized educational services.

## Going Along: The medical personnel's experience

Historically, doctors were hired for services without becoming permanent fixtures of the prisons. It was during the 1960s with the advent of the medical model and of treatment programs that reforms saw medical personnel become permanent fixture of the penitentiaries. In contrast to the Chaplains, the medical personnel employed by the prison have no singular group representing them and they have remained vulnerable.

Wheeler (1969) illustrated how this group resolved the philosophical disparities between ethical medical treatment and the custody function of prison. For medical personnel to be perceived positively by the institution (i.e., while supporting a treatment orientation) became possible only when the medical staff reorganized itself. They limited each staff member to certain functions or segment of what the actual profession required in the outside world. Therefore, in this strategy each person became "specialized" in one area and this supposedly made up for what was lost; and this narrowing of medical and professional practices translated into increased bureaucratic attitude and deportment. This was how medical personnel attained and exercised the status of prison professional to avoid being negated, and by doing so, they became increasingly limited by their desire to accommodate themselves to the notion of correctional professionalism. The issue appeared satisfactorily settled and closed until the silence was broken by doctor Richmond (1975) and psychiatrist Scott (with Bill Trent 1982) who both felt, observed, and commented upon the negative effects of this limiting form of professionalism in medical practices. In all fairness, they also pointed out its advantages in getting things done institutionally, even if it eventually limited skills to the extent of hampering return to mainstream hospital and nursing practices.

In 2000, informants 29, 30, and 31 reported that in actuality, specialization could be implemented only in institutions where there is enough personnel to support it. To their knowledge and at the time, outside the Prairie Regional Psychiatric Center, only one institution could maintain total specialization in its medical services. Everywhere else, due a shortage of personnel, the medical duties were very challenging and stressful and the medical treatment was more or less limited depending to the proximity of accessible public services. Since then, the medical professionals are increasingly being replaced by para-professionals.

I inferred that the medical professions acting without outside support were unable to challenge the bureaucratic ideology and, thus, they were increasingly vulnerable to institutional and administrative cutbacks as long as emergency and routine[5] services could be maintained. This contributes to lowering operating costs while maintaining the illusion of professionalism at its best.

## IV. The Prisonization Model

In Chapter One, I mentioned prisonization. Donald Clemmer (1958) formulated the sociological theory of prisonization in "*The Prison Society*" to explain the irregular effects of the prison, as an alternate society, upon those who enter it for periods of time. He likened the experience to "being swallowed by a boa." However, there is an ongoing and tempestuous debate among theorists about the nature and effects of "prisonization" on prisoners and prison workers.

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[5] Examples of emergency: any occurrence requiring quick and immediate action/treatment or external intervention such as surgery or very specialized treatment only provided in fully equipped hospitals. An emergency can be downgraded to a routine treatment: seizures and distribution of prescribed medication. Examples of routine services: pill delivery, sick call, First Aid with simple in house treatment and bandaging.

Like Clemmer and Sykes ([1958]1968), Wheeler adopted the standpoint of the alternate society when he started observing prisoners in 1961. Thus, he identified a "U" shaped adaptive pattern (1969): where those in the early and late phases of the sentence conformed to staff and prison opinion, those in the middle deviated. In 1990, Canadian Guy Lemire reassessed the theoretical "prisonization" interpretations of Clemmer (1958), Wheeler (1961), Cohen and Taylor (1974), and McKay, Jayewardene and Reedie (1979) by reviewing and re-evaluating their data and analyses of prisoners and officers' studies. He succeeded in establishing an impartial view of the subtle similarities between the "prisonization" of inmates and correctional officers. He described "prisonization" as "*une courbe en U*"[6] (1990: 25) where assimilation to the prison occurs for both groups during the central phase of incarceration when the novelty wears off and the anticipation of release has not been activated. This was not different from Wheeler's pattern but the explanation, contradicted him. Lemire added: "*la prisoniérization, considérée de façon globale, n'est donc pas un processus linéaire continu, mais un phénomène cyclique à tendance négative*"[7] (25) that I could well imagine as "some kind of slinky U unravelling out of shape!" Interestingly enough, Edgar Epp, a former Canadian prison administrator and Deputy Minister of Corrections, has affirmed "that the very nature of the prisons was to destroy people further and to suck them into a vicious circle where *fear* is the primary factor determining activities, associations, and economic priorities while in and often, after prison" (in Morris 1989: 24).

### Nature of prisonization

In the 1970s, the American prison experienced its most turbulent period and prison change quickly overtook and almost overran those who were involved in the prison movement and those inside the prison. From being a prisoner at Soledad, in California, to becoming a foremost radical prison expert, John Irwin (1970; 1980) challenged Clemmer's earliest theoretical interpretations. Denying the stripping of identity, the principal tenet of prisonization, he said that all inmates carried a great deal of behavioural baggage into prison and retained it during their stay. Using his own prison experience as the empirical test, he illustrated how he was himself the "chief agent of change" and how his approach to prison was an evolution: that of the prisoner as learner-as researcher-as teacher. Obviously, he was referring to one of the principles of andragogy animating the decade and this positioning could have been perceived as temporary. However, a later passage revealed the lasting impact of the prison on Irwin:

> Since I was released from prison twenty years ago, I have had difficulty keeping my attention away from that institution for any length of time. In the first few years I thought less and less about it, occasional flashbacks

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[6] As a 'U shaped curve' (or bend).

[7] Prisonization, "entirely considered, is not a continuum [sequential, chronological] but a cyclical phenomenon with negative tendency."

> triggered only by diminishing contacts with prison buddies. Then my academic plans shifted, and I was face to face with the prison again (1980: xxi).

Irwin was too deeply involved in the prison, to pull out: he had gained a professional reputation as a criminologist with prison expertise; and, he acknowledged "what draws me back is, above all, a deep curiosity or, better, a fascination that overrides my hate and fear of prison, both of which are intense…" (xxii). He added that his recurring nightmare was of finding himself back there, of serving another sentence. Yet, his past motivated him to return and to stay involved, overcoming his fear and hatred of prison, Irwin became an activist, by choice:

> Whenever I receive a bit of information about a new incident or event I begin wondering what is really going on and what the consequences will be. In my training, as a participant-observer, when I have done this at a prison
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> . . . I have often discovered that what is going on is different from news accounts, official claims, and social scientists published studies . . . what is going on infuriates me because it is unfair and dehumanizing to prisoners . . . makes me sensitive to the inevitable connection between the popular and official misunderstandings and the injustices and inhumanity . . . radical sociology persuades me that the connection is not accidental; instead officials purposely embrace or generate distorted versions of realities for their self-interests, and their self-serving actions, based on these distorted realities, produce injustices and inhumanity (xxii - xxiii).

This choice and determination echoed Dr. Wolfred Nelson's motivation to accept his appointment to the Board of Prison Inspectors, in 1851, twenty-years after his initial imprisonment and deportation. His acceptance letter of the appointment reads: "[m]y sejourn for seven months in the Montreal Jail gave me such a practical knowledge of prison affairs, the accursed abuses that prevail there . . . and the uncalled for miseries that were inflicted on the prisoners induce me to accept" (Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada, Vol. 9, 1851: 596; Nelson[8] 1946: 51). For these two ex-prisoners the experience of prison was enlightening and resulted in engaged prison activism. For Nelson, the activism had started even before his appointment with his organizing and providing relief for Canadian deportees from England, the West Indies and even, as far as Australia while awaiting pardon in the United States where he toured prisons and lectured on prison reforms (Nelson 1946). He would continue his prison reform efforts until he died, in 1873. This was the earliest Canadian set of documented evidence, found in non-fiction sources, indicating that contact with prison could affect a lasting change upon the individual sense of prison agency after release.

In 1985 Jack Henry Abbott entered the prisonization debate. He had also spent a lifetime in American jails but he disagreed with Irwin and seemed to side with Clemmer. He countered that the prison turns (i.e. transforms) people into something they were not prior to incarceration, and that the dehumanizing effects of prison reduces prisoners while creating a mangled emotional state. He pointed to an encompassing process of indoctrination and to its devastating psychological effects. Over time, unaware individuals become programmed into the system's way of thinking and increasingly dependent upon the system as the effects extend to many aspects of life taken for granted by non-prisoners. More insidiously, he reported how another significant change occurs:

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[8] This Nelson is the grandson, namesake and biographer of Dr. Wolfred Nelson

> It used to be a pastime of mine to watch the change in men, to observe the blackening of their hearts. It takes place before your eyes. They enter prison more bewildered than afraid . . . the fear creeps into them. They are experiencing men and the administration of things no novel or the cinema - nor the worst rumors about prisons can teach. No one is prepared for it. Even the pigs (guards), when they first start to work in prison, are not prepared for it. Fear is a practical matter, not only psychological or emotional. Everyone is afraid. (58)

Abbott also advanced his argument by showing that by subjecting inmates to violence, rape, extortion, and punishment in prison without justice, teaches them never to trust another person (and possibly) because of their apparent honesty and sincerity. "They become so changed that they are not even aware that there was a time when they were incapable of such things . . . they are no longer afraid of going to prison . . . they do not even remember not being originally afraid" (1985: 60). So, they enter a cycle of psychological distress and become passive objects of other people.

What I learned when I first read the above passage in February1999 was somewhat enlightening. For one, Abbott was talking about a moment of recognition of corruption that I had seemingly experienced as a CCE, and that I witnessed in others. This recognition scared and angered me to have been so close to a similar abyss. And two, he used "they" for inmates; he distanced himself from the inmate experience and from that group, as if they were the only ones who could experience such a change. If he had not, he may have used "we" or "you" to include the readers in something they could possibly experience with him. Of course, amongst other things, the use of the pronoun "I" might have revealed ownership. As I kept rereading the passage using "we, you and I" with each, the impact shifted: it was almost unbearable to speak the words when using "I." This first made me realize the importance of pronouns and Archer later made me pay attention to how and why they shifted during interviews as expression of individual sense of agency (2000: 292-305) or lack of. Consequently, during writing I used First (person) Voice, as expressed in the interviews, to preserve the impact of these silences and struggles.

There is a disturbing point to consider in Abbott's version of prisonization: if the dehumanization is as extensive as described, how does he explain turning out alright? Where Irwin said he learned, taught and thrived, Abbott denied the possibility of doing so in anyone but himself without providing information concerning his exceptionality.

Stanton Samenow (1985) provided a counter-cultural interpretation to Abbott by proposing that the prison does not corrupt the criminal mind but rather that the opposite occurs as the criminal personality does not stop once imprisoned. It continues to exhibit the same mind-set in prison by expanding its associations and finding support for antisocial patterns of thought and behaviour. Rather than being a victim, the criminal makes choices and continues manipulations and power plays:

> . . . in the past, the law and other's rights meant little to him, but now . . . he becomes highly legalistic about asserting his own rights . . . looks for ways to beat a charge . . . seeks to overturn a verdict or reduce a sentence . . . spend [ing] hours poring over law books . . . and weeks laboring over writs (62) . . . make a career in prison as jailhouse lawyers, conducting legal research and preparing documents for themselves and other inmates, collecting, in the latter case, money, property, and personal favors (62) . . . or through violence (63) . . . and some prefer 'the hole' to capitulation (63).

Samenow apparently sides with Irwin's view of the "prisoner as learner and as agent of its own change" and retains his characteristics. Samenow was not a prisoner, so to him the change is for selfish reasons: the criminal expects to do as he pleases and to get his way by defying regulation and authority. Only the reason appears to be on different terms: a more immediate and self-interested form of power directed at getting out of prison, the first step in freedom for themselves or other prisoners. Both Irwin and Samenow's subjects seek knowledge and understandings. In my experience and to my knowledge, some "jailhouse lawyers" have obtained surprising results in succeeding where courthouse lawyers failed. Could there be other explanations for the above process than the explanations provided by the "prisonization" discourse? I agree that some prisoners limit themselves only to manipulations and some are more skilled at it than others. But is this not an important element for any of us who work in bureaucratic institutions even if we don't like the term manipulation? Some of the approaches suggest an andragogical explanation and others, a political one.

Could what is taken as "manipulations and power plays" be considered intellectual and mental creative expressions of resistance: the refusal to become dependant and the attempts to retain a sense of control upon the surrounding by learning about it and its workings? Or could prisoners be attempting to learn institutional ways to improve their lot; to gain a sense of advantage previously missing? Could the jailhouse lawyers be learning the legal ways of society (Freire 1970; 1973; 1985) of questioning and of logical argument (Freire 1989) as ways of resistance and empowerment? Could their preference of segregation over compliance be a manifestation of realization that they are actively collaborating in their own imprisonment. During my employment and volunteer experiences I did encounter some of these "busy bodies," they had energy and drive, often sacrificing whatever relief prison employment and prison pay could have offered them, to pursue their legal goals. They lacked resources, support, and mentorship because the institutions perceive what they did negatively. They actively engage themselves in the pursuit of freedom. Two jailhouse lawyers, I know personally, make excellent paralegals after succeeding in getting their sentences overturned. They work in the offices of criminal defence lawyers in Edmonton. Is there a difference between their learning and Irwin's, Samenow's or mine as prisoners or workers or academics? Could these intellectual manifestations be enough for the prisoners to be partially protected against the prison influences affecting the body and faculties? All of these questions cannot be answered by this research but they stimulated key aspects of my approach and would be worthy of future inquiry beyond this study.

Conover (2000) made the most recent contribution to prisonization theory. His requested clearance to research the responses of correctional workers to their environment was denied; so, he became a correctional officer. He closely monitored his responses to the environment and duties and his relationships with his peers and prisoners as he went through recruitment, training, and guarding prisoners for an entire year. He also recorded changes in his relationships in the outside world and considered their effects.

Realization set in while reviewing his notes: as a more seasoned correctional officer he was now denying and second-guessing his original reactions and justifying that things were not that bad. He finally comprehended why he had to leave. In the space of a year, he had come slowly to accept as normal what he would had previously considered irrational and socially, absurd. He summed this experience, "I thought about the inmate I had spoken to on R-and-W who had explained to me the essential difference between the slave who worked in the field and the slave who worked in the house: 'The former wasn't sad when the house burn down'" (309). After re-considering the troubles including a recent riot he had been involved in, Conover self-reflectively added about his officer alter-ego, ". . . I only wondered how bad things would have to get before he could see it burning down with himself inside" (309). He left. But, what about those who can not or will not leave, do they also have such realization? And if so, how are they affected?

### Effects of prisonization

Daniel Gonin (1991) was a doctor in French penal settings for 22 years. Providing facts and measures, he documented the magnitude of corporal degeneration (85-101) attributed to the prison experience and revealed the extent and immediacy of the pathologic effects of the prison upon "*la chair incarcérée*" (incarcerated flesh) (85). Flesh reflects all layers, tissues, organs and functions of the body. Flesh is passive so the word also conveys the inability to willfully resist the effects. He summarized the prison effects as a *calculated atrophy of all the senses.*

1. Entering the prison creates disorientation often manifested in vertigo.
2. Subtle smell disruption is detectable within the first months of incarceration and leads to further sensorial changes.
3. In prison, inmates are only objects to be observed; so, exchanged looks and seeing ends. Within a year, 35% of inmates report major changes to sight. In addition, sight becomes disconnected from language[9].
4. Hearing is acute, the need to perceive and interpret any sound is vital and within the first few months 47% of inmates report being increasingly sensitive

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[9] Language is affected and words take confusing meanings. For example, clean and dirty are ambiguous terms: one can be clean externally to wash out the dirty feeling inside. Others stay dirty to deter predators or to reflect the environment they find themselves in. To be dirty can mean to be corrupted, to have a bad crime; while to be clean, can also mean to be free of drugs, alcohol or contraband.

to noise. After 4 months, the numbers increase to 60%. After a year, numbers settle at 54% and remain there for the rest of the sentence. After three months, parolees did not show improvement.

5. The opposite, various degree of deafness, is reported by 23% after six months, rising to 28% after a year; but parolees seem to recover, as only 8% report hearing difficulties.
6. Touch is disaffected by the familiarity of objects and surfaces cease to stimulate.
7. Food is lukewarm. Tastes are blurred through institutional cooking.
8. More significantly, sensations, mental constructs and perception withers.
9. Time loses its meaning and is replaced by routine.
10. Space and personal boundaries are meaningless when control is taken away. Full and empty, for example, relate to the immediate space shared, to lack of emotional stimulation, to space in life and time and roles lost, and to isolation, estrangement, and boredom.
11. Sensation of hot and cold are limited through temperature control regardless of the external temperature. However, between 28-31% of inmates complain of feeling cold. Dry and wet sensations result in feeling clammy.

In the prison one's body gradually becomes a wasted shell. More significantly, release does not guaranty rehabilitation of the body, nor of the mind. The extent of the emotional, moral and physical changes effected by prison reported by American and French researchers amounts to a forced re-socialization (Brim and Wheeler 1966) and would lead one to believe that they are not reversed simply, by leaving the prison. Yet, there is a lack of research to bridge the gap between prison effects and post-release manifestations of prisonization which only feminist have attempted to address.

Monique Hamelin (1989), a Canadian researcher, explored the trajectory of women after release from British prisons by using Goffman's symbolic interaction theory and compiling a phenomenological investigation of the post-release experience. She analyzed and critiqued her findings by using feminist sociological interpretations and stripped away generalizations of social class stratification. Instead she found that other forms of stratification such as maternity, single parenthood, women's psychology and socio-economic professionalism demonstrated evidences of the influence of the prison.

Mary Eaton (1993), a British feminist theorist, made inroads when she extended her research to post-release. She confirmed that the prison effects endure beyond the prison and sentence duration. A year after release, she documented the physical and social changes in women who had served various sentences in the British prison. Then, she compared their pre and post-release states. These women were rarely better off in their post-release; and the few that were, owed it to close support; and in one exception, to total relocation allowing a complete new start, including remunerative employment, unmarred by prison stigma.

In a previous research, I captured the implications of repeated and long sentences with the concept of "arrested lives" (Barrette 1999b) to describe what takes place in prisoners' lives when what is normally done, at various stages of life, is missed and its inherent maturing opportunities foregone. The CCEs have different lives but could they also experience forms of arrest, due to their prison employment? In prison, in addition to control, prisonization and correctional professionalism; there is another political development complicating employment. It is privatization, a policy applied to penal settings as a progressive economic reform during the eighties and it may have potentially negative effects when added to factors related to "prisonization."

## V. Privatization

Privatisation is a government policy that involves contracting out one or more operation of one or more prison to private enterprise. Commonly privatized functions can include Medical Services, Alcohol and Drug Treatment, Mental Health Services, Education but also Correctional Facilities Construction and Prison Operations. Cost savings is the most common reason for privatization. While the 1997 Council of State Government reported modest savings (5%) a 1996 report of an international Comparative Study of Private Management Cost Savings (1989 to 1996) indicated that cost savings ranged from zero to 22% (report GAO/GGD-96-158, 1996). So, the global trend of privatizing prison is contentious according to both Roth and the University of Florida Private Corrections Project (1997).

The modern prison privatization phenomenon emerged in the United States in the early 1980s and quickly spread to Australia, the United Kingdom. In the United States, privatization applies to all functions

In Australia, the government separated corrections policy making from service delivery in order to facilitate competition. For example, the state of Victoria had a 20-year contract for three prisons: 65% of female and 40% of male prisoners were in private correctional facilities. However, in the states of Queensland and especially, New South Wales, privatization affected an extent of deterioration in all penal aspects which had attracted international attention and rebuke (Siemens 1996). In 2000, following a change in government, the Martin government announced its decision to abolish privatization "as a positive measure to redress years of abuse and ill treatment of prisoners." However, in 2004 privatization remains. In addition, New Zealand, Canada, South Korea, South Africa, Peru, Chile, France and a host of other countries are at various stage of implementation.

Forster (1996) and Cavadino and Dignan (1997) examined aspects of the penal process in England and Wales and examined the mixed effects of privatization. Although costs decreased shortage of resources and concerns over numbers and ratios, conditions, containment, control, authority, and legitimacy appeared as common denominators in these three regions. These identified issues are also found in the Canadian privatization of correctional education (Barrette 1998c; 1999a; c). However, in reflection, it may well be that these conditions have always been there and that no one looked at them before privatization.

In 2004, Stephen Nathan edited the *Public Service International Research Unit Report (PSIRU)* and in 2005[10], the European Prison Service Union (EPSU) emerged and held its first workshop to address "industrial actions related to the understaffing and overcrowding of prison and correctional services of the countries in the European Union" and "advance the debate of Services of General Interest in the European Union." Thus, PSIRU promoted the emergence of a network and of a forum where the greater implications of privatization could be examined and discussed progressively:

1. Cases related to working conditions and trade union rights of the public sector were examined and discussed.

2. A social dialogue of the impact of EU social legislation and collective agreements on working conditions and trade union rights followed. (Ole Ingstrup, the retired Commissioner of the Correctional Service of Canada and President of International Correction and Prison Association (ICPA), represented management's views.)

3. This led to an initial roundtable discussion of the reinsertion of prisoners and alternatives to imprisonment.

4. Finally, conclusions and agreement outlined EPSU's next steps.

Privatized employment environments enhance the prison's influence and resistance endangers livelihood. If EPSU is viable its action will have importance and impact for future correctional employment, both public and private.

Prison Governor[11] Coyle was well placed, in 1994, to reveal the realities of working in a privatized prison system (135-147) and to discuss power issues relegating British prison officers to the status of *cogs in the great machine* (189-208). This imagery represents both the mechanical and impersonal aspects and the dehumanizing effects of the prison upon employees who often spend more time in the correctional settings, than the inmates. He illustrated that in such occurrences, one's career and professionalism contributed to a prison of one's own making. Most telling for CCEs, Coyle exposed the difficulties of recruiting and retaining prison officers under such employment conditions and asked a haunting question: why would one want to do a job like that?

Even if Coyle had ended his book by becoming philosophical, expressing his humanity and spiritual beliefs, reading it had reinforced my conviction that in the prison, one's positioning affects and effects voice, empowerment, and possibly experience.

Employees who live and work by prison rules have been researched less intensively than inmates, but nevertheless, the literature review pertaining to working in prison revealed that the research offered an alternative explanation falling under the category of control: *prison professionalism*. Prison or correctional professionalism descriptive measures of accommodation, acceptance, and resistance served to identify the magnitude of problems, tensions, and dangers surrounding workers in prisons. From the literature review the façade on professionalism is removed. While numbers don't speak for themselves, in this case they speak enough to show that even when the interpretations are lacking the negative effects remain tangible in the research that points at experiences of correctional workers.

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[10] May 19, 2005 in Luxembourg.

[11] Equivalent to Warden in Canada.

## VI. Model for Cultural Analysis

In 2000, in Canada, the conditions of control, prisonization, prison professionalism, and privatization co-existed only in the employment of the CCEs. It was time to investigate their prison experience.

It is commonly understood that what constitutes culture is: (1) it is not an objectified, self-enclosed, coherent thing or object and (2) culture is not learned or understood simply through by observation and documenting but is something inferred: that is portrayed, written or inscribed in the acts of representation of the inquirer as a form or pattern abstracted from behaviours. This pattern is an ideational system of meanings, a kind of knowledge and understanding shared by members of a given group. However, this common understanding is highly contested when more specific aspects of the ontological status and epistemological accessibility are attended to. These contestations provide different ways to conceive culture in terms of meaning, symbolism, language, and discourse and linking its conception to other conceptions such as practice, power, policy, pedagogy and so on. Beyond the common understanding, culture can also be viewed through different social theoretical frameworks such as structuralist, functionalist, dramaturgical and critical perspectives. This last section outlines the general orientation of this study to the analysis of culture. It is beyond the scope of this work to explore in great detail or debate the nuances of the different frameworks. The purpose here is merely to identify the general orientation of my own inheritance of ideas from poststructuralism, symbolic interactionism and critical realism and to suggest that while the empirical research and andragogical analysis are the primary components of the thesis, research on teaching and prisons demands more attention be paid to the theoretical orientation of researchers, practitioners, administrators and others and that healthy scepticism be directed at the promotion of self-evident "common sense" explanations when approaching such complex coercive situations and subtle cultural practices. For those unfamiliar with the work of Foucault, Goffman and Archer and where readers may find this coverage too superficial or inadequate I can only suggest more reading of the selected source material in this chapter and the next.

When Foucault ([1975]1995) reviewed and critiqued the historical development of European penal philosophy he found them based upon power and control. As a result, his exposure of the basic ideological fracture behind the correctional mandates forces continual questioning of the practices and methodologies of power in incarceration. My initial review of the Canadian context are condensed in Appendix IV – Historicity of Canadian Corrections Ideology and Policy and in Appendix V – Correctional Strategy and they corroborate issues of bureaucratic and political power and control in the Canadian correctional system.

Michel Foucault's initial approach to prison ([1975]1995) had been historical and linguistic. However, being a patient in a mental hospital influenced his socio-linguistic structuralism and poststructuralism and he became increasingly anti-metaphysical and anti-humanist by de-centering the notion of the individual and self-awareness of the subject. In his latest stage of insight before his death in 1984, he did concede a minimalist form of humanism regarding expressivist ethics. In his early and middle work, the "I" derives its identity from its position in language or involvement in various systems of meaning. However, "I" is not available to itself as is generally presupposed in liberal enlightenment thinking. Thus, subjects, speakers and authors (i.e. agents of self-reflexive and reasoning action) are irrelevant to the interpretation of the text. For Foucault everything is a text and all texts are interrelated to form the "case." This pantextualism makes for intertextuality and as specialists "interpret the case" it becomes both the source of their knowledge and the object of their power. This "upward conflation" reduces socio-cultural action to a product of socialization or cultural artefacts of the cultural system. Foucault's poststructuralist approach to texts can result in unstable meaning never predictable or determinable and consequently, never representational of groups. However, the approach is valuable in approaching documented experience and to unmask assumptions of truth or meaning by undoing, reversing, and possibly replacing the binary oppositions ordering not just speaking but also thinking, acting and living.

Where Foucault may be criticized for upward conflation, most interactional sociologies, such as Erving Goffman's, may be criticized for "downward conflation." that is, ignoring structures or else reducing them to purely autonomous socio-cultural action. The independence of personal meaning-making (emphasized by Goffman) from the material and cultural order (emphasized by Foucault) credits agents with too much freedom and control.

In terms of prison analysis, Goffman (1957) pioneered the study of interactional order in social life. From 1954-1957 he studied ward behaviours at the Bethesda (Maryland) National Institute of Mental Health. He used the metaphor of the theatre: what he observed people do when they were in the presence of others. Dramaturgy (1957), how people present themselves, became part of social analysis: performance, impression management, facework, and front-stage and back-stage are its vocabulary.

In 1961, he published *Asylum,* the result of his trying to learn about the social world of the hospital inmate, *as this world is subjectively experienced.* To do so, he took the role of assistant to the athletic director for a year with the consent of the top hospital[12] management. He passed the day with patients, avoided sociable contact with the staff and the carrying of a key. He did not sleep in the wards. He believed that any group of persons develop a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable, and normal once you get close to it and that the way to learn about it is to submit oneself to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subjected, with them (ix-x). Thus, sociologically he described faithfully the patient's situation, the tissue and fabric of patient life in a "total institution." Total institution is defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life (Introduction). Beside the mental institution and prison (involuntary membership) examples include hospital, religious orders, and the military (voluntary membership) where the dynamics, structures, and practices are very similar.

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[12] St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D.C. a federal institution of 7000 inmates.

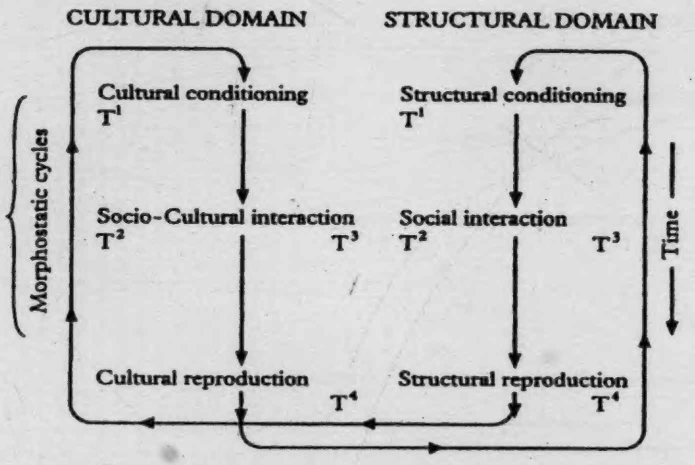
His work led to two findings: (1) that "the worldview of the group functions to sustain its members and expectedly provides them with a self-justifying definition of their own situation and a prejudiced view of non-members (in this case nurses, doctors, attendants, and relatives)" (x); (2) that "in total institutions the tensions mirror each others for inmates and for staff" (x-xi). If so, will this research corroborate existing understandings, factors, and concerns expressed by the prison professionals and prisoners about marginalization and prisonization? Or, will the CCEs' experience reveal itself differently? It might all hinge on how they negotiate the experience of the divide between objectivity and subjectivity in the prison.

In an attempt to get beyond the structure/agency debate (i.e., Foucault or Goffman), others, such as Anthony Giddens(1984), have proposed "structure *and* agency" solutions but can be criticized for "central conflation" and ignoring the specific and distinctive social powers attributable to structures and agents. Critical realists, such as Roy Bhaskar (1978; 1989; 1998) and Margaret Archer (1995; 1998; 2000; 2003) suggest solutions which propose structure and agency while retaining the distinctions between structural and personal powers in their various individualistic and collectivistic manifestation. This social ontology of realist social theory is revealed in Bhaskar's condensed statement that "the causal power of social forms is mediated through social agency" (1989: 94). This refers to structural and cultural properties held to have temporal priority, relative autonomy and causal efficacy with and on members of society. Structural and cultural factors emerge from people and are effected through people. This has been previously equated with social conditioning. However, human agency indicates the individual capacity to perceive their situation, reason about it, form motives and consciously monitor responses and action.

In practical social theorizing abstract ontology is predicated by analytical dualism: system integration might be a variance of social integration. Thus the admission of these two contra-conflational accounts implies a third which combines them (central conflation). But triple versions of conflation are one-dimensional accounts, crude epiphenomenal reduction in the upwards and downward versions, more sophisticated but still compacted in the central version since an artificial bracketing can separate them for analytical convenience. Bhaskar (1989) reviewed and refined his model and differentiated between "the need to retain" and "the need to reject" in his model to reflect the transformational impact of social action:

In keeping with Bhaskar's general thrust and her own background in educational research and social theory, Margaret Archer (1995: 157) proposes that any social conditioning process must deal with the interplay between the power of structures and those of the agents. This involves (1) specifying how structural and cultural powers impinge upon agents to potentially condition their actions (constraints and enablement); and (2) how agents use their own power to act then, in one way rather than another.

**Figure 1: Archer's structural and cultural configurations reproducing morphostatic cycles in society (1995: 309)**



In Archer's approach the influences of objective structural and cultural factors create subjective vested interest invested in position. Life changes can alter vested interests; people can use their personal powers to renounce or repudiate them although agential deliberations: subjective and reflexive formulation of personal projects in view of their objective circumstances. This process of internal mediation is the internal conversation through which agents respond to social forms. It is internal, ontologically subjective and causally efficient.

It is this interface between the real and the individual that I was interested in, the point at which one become the other. Archer's morphogenetic approach (1995: 135-161) to realist inquiry into social culture and agency *connects* structure and agency. Rather than conflating the differences between structure and agency and she develops an ontological passage between individualism and holism with a model of habituation, praxis and discourse.

Bhaskar's approach and Archer's model to it provide the opportunity to "open a window in time," that is, to include socio-historical analysis as part of socio-structural analysis in both the continuous prison employment history and the continuous individuals' employment experience to examine when and what specific forms of restructuring take place over time.

In following this model, the prison is conceived as a real object and both pre-exists and exists independently of the material and cultural life of the CCEs. In this way, Archer follows Foucault. However, unlike Foucault these material and cultural structures provide resources that may enable or constrain the socio-cultural action of the agents. As indicated earlier, the expected adaptation to the prison is explained by the prisonization theory and the method of control is prison professionalism. The prison experience of the CCEs arises from the encounter of individuals with the prison but the prison is treated as an unchangeable, non-historical and naturalistic entity (i.e., reified). It is also understood as a historical construct, sustained by the socio-cultural action of agents but it is not reducible to the institutional structures which have their own independent effects, each requiring analyses.

Therefore, because the model insists on the pre-existence and autonomy of social forms in the enquiry of the experience of the CCEs it is assumed that

> some features of social structures and culture are strategically important and enduring and that they provide limits within which particular social situations can occur. On this assumption the action approach can help to explain the nature of the situations and how they affect conduct. It does not explain the social structure and culture as such, except by lending itself to a developmental enquiry which must start from some previous point at which structural and cultural elements are treated as given. (Archer 1998: 359)

Although, temporality is essential to this ontological approach, Archer's (1998: 359) "autonomy" is temporal and temporary. How, then, might this approach accord with Morris' view of the abolitionist potential of prison work? Archer' stance rests on three aspects of the structural properties. (1) Structural properties were not created by contemporary actors; (2) nor are they ontologically reducible to raw resources; and (3) they are dependent upon ruled governed human acts for their current effects. This is why Archer can identify *visible patterns* as detectable regularities in human interactions denoting discontinuities in the structuring/restructuring process and can grasp them by making analytical distinctions between *the before, the during, and the after*, that is, the lived history of an enduring human social practice.

If human activity consists in the transformation by efficient and intentional agency of pre-given natural and social material causes; then, to Bhaskar, social forms framing intention have to be drawn upon. However, to Archer, and alien to conflationary theorizing of Foucault, Goffman and Giddens, "*pre-existing* properties *impinge* upon contemporary actors and cannot be subsumed under voluntaristic concepts like 'instantiation'." Also, the materialization of these prior relational properties impinges haphazardly upon current actors and their situations, so it implies no compliance, complicity or consent from the latter. However, the relational conception of structures explicitly incorporates time past and time present, then

> allows one to focus on the *distribution* of the structural conditions of action, and in particular…differential allocations of: (a) productive resources to persons (and groups) and (b) persons (and groups) to functions and roles (i.e. in the division of labour). In doing so, it allows one to situate the possibility of different (and antagonistic) interests, of conflict *within* society and hence of interest motivated transformation in society structure. (1998: 370-371)

Thus, if it is made clear that the present actors are not responsible for creating the distributions, roles and associated interests with which they live; in the morphogenic model it is equally important and crucial to recognize that the pre-structuring of actors' contexts and interests is what shapes the pressures for transformation by some and for stable reproduction by others, in the present. Archer added:

> theories of change are not defied by infinite social complexity, reproduction is not an undifferentiated potential of every moment, it is rooted in determinate conflicts between identifiable groups who find themselves in particular positions with particular interests to advance or defend. (1998: 371)

In Bhaskar's TMSA model of action the third account of the *interplay* between the social structures and human agents is required to recognize mediating concepts explaining *how* structure actually impinges upon agency *(who and where)* and *how* agents react to reproduce or transform structure. In Archer's morphogenesis/morphostatis the mediating concepts are differentially distributed and concretely located rather than being modalities (i.e.. norms, interpretive schemes or facilities) which are the conventional roots of institutional knowledge, power and conventions.

The critical realist approach protects *common-sense knowledge as agential entrées* to structures and interpretations and the level at which they are experienced. In keeping structure and agency distinct explains the hermeneutic struggle to make sense of the causal efficacy of properties independent from consciousness and to make nonsense of them because they are shaped externally. Additionally, a critical realist approach to culture reveals both the social determinants (as human powers) and their emancipatory potential to both change the social world and to explain why the struggle to understand the world and change it is very difficult and prone to error, fictionalization and delusion. Finally, in social realism whether contextual causes are circumstantial or contrived, the social causes cannot be confined to the intellect or to the mental abstractions of meanings. Thus, while interviews are necessary, they are not sufficient. Furthermore, a researcher cannot get at social and cultural structures through personal self-understandings or informant interviews or alone. Reflections on personal experiences and informant interviews must be continuously supplemented with analysis, synthesis and evaluation at the theoretical level.

Generally speaking, the above approach to structure and agency and its impact on methodological issues is consistent with critical social science (Fay 1987). Adopting a critical social science approach to research methodology reflects the blending of practical philosophy with explanatory social science and a desire to reform both. The next chapter picks up on the philosophy and methodology of critical social science, but suffice it to say here, while practical philosophy is concerned primarily with *progressive praxis*, explanatory social science produces knowledge of the *general causes* of social actions. Therefore, the following characteristics are manifested in combining empirical research and social theorizing with the intent of education as a kind of political practice (Fay 1987; Neuman 2000):

1. It integrates theory and practice in such a way that individuals/groups become aware of the contradictions and distortions in their belief systems and social practices and then are inspired to change those beliefs and practices.
2. Methods of immanent critique challenge belief systems and social relations not only by comparing them to external standards but also by showing that

these practices do not measure up to their own standards and are internally inconsistent, incoherent, and hypocritical [false consciousness].

3. It is practical and normative not merely descriptive and explanatory.
4. It is often spearheaded in a critique of instrumental and technical reason, a means-end reasoning pervasive in traditional empirical-analytic sciences and dominating societal processes and cultural meaning but also dynamics of personality formation. Instrumental reason aims to avoid crises, conflict and critique although it was founded in a bid to liberate people from myth, ignorance and oppression. The rationalization of social and individual life works to suppress the self-transformative, self-reflective, critical, and liberating impulses and this is when and why critical inquiry supporting a practical, moral, and ethically and politically informed reasoning is needed.
5. To retain or recapture the power of human reason to affect individual and social transformation a form of enquiry is needed to that fosters enlightened self-knowledge and effective socio-political action. This is achieved by linking hermeneutic and explanatory social scientific interests to normative concerns.
6. Finally, critical social science is self-reflective; the theory must account for its own conditions of possibility and transformative effects by rejecting the notion of 'disinterestment' and emphasizing attending to the historical and cultural conditions on which the theorist's own intellectual activity depends.

Critical ethnography engages in cultural critique by examining larger political, social and economic issues. This is informed at times by Marxist and post-Marxist theory. Critical hermeneutics, also known as depth hermeneutic (Habermas 1987) or strong hermeneutic (Smith 1997) is characterized by four aspects.

1. It is sceptical of given meanings and interpretations and suspicious of claims to truth and knowledge and seeks to demystify those claims.
2. It is normative as its purpose is to transform society and emancipating individuals from false consciousness in such a way that distorted and non-ideological understanding can be realized.
3. It is materialist in its concerns not only with the relationship between language meaning and understanding but also with concrete, empirical economic, social, organizational, and political conditions and practices that shape human beings as knowers and as social agents.
4. It often draws on psychoanalysis as a model for the hermeneutic task of integrating both causal explanations and interpretive self-understanding.

## Summary

The literature review of empirical research showed that entering prison appears to create a lot more than isolation, and that the experience of prisoners and prison workers point to a range of dehumanizing experiences regardless of the degree of individual awareness.. Reviewing privatization revealed that it alters the working relationships and furthers the deterioration of working conditions. After the literature review, prison emerges as a crucible for personal, professional and institutional conflicts where CCEs are seemingly and inadvertently plunged into a strange and difficult complex of social relations.

The review of social theoretical approaches to culture analysis and prison research identified that studies of prison work and old and new forms of privatization might potentially be open to an alternative explanation other than that provided by prisonization theory. Furthermore, the continuous use of "prisonization" to explain and justify prison practices may be at best somewhat inadequate and at worst actually complicit in reproducing existing structures of power and control that are so problematic. Minimally, previous research and analysis seems to show important gaps and inadequacies in the prisonization discourse when it comes to explaining its continued application to issues regarding the retention of CCEs. Furthermore, the critical realist model of Bhaskar and Archer's applications of it to educational practices appears a potentially viable alternative to uncovering alternative explanations to displace prisonization theory with something more adequate and which addresses issues of structure, agency and power.

To conclude this chapter before moving on to specific philosophical, methodological and technical issues, I want to emphasize that in the discussion of "prisonization" at least three ongoing debates of residual resistance remain. First, what do CCEs learn when they go to prison and if so, does it matter? If so, what can be learned from their experience? What andragogical practice might benefit them? Second, does the prison shape/change the individual or do its pressures erode the layers of cultural socialization to reveal the core of the individual? If so, Morris' contention (1989; 1995; West and Morris 2000) that anyone entering the prison has the potential to become an abolitionist might offer a possible outcome for the experience. Third, the literature of resistance is still superficial but it identified philosophy and morality as rationale of resistance and outside support from and authoritative organization as necessary to partial resistance. In combining teacher resistance and outside support with authoritative organization seems to suggest that not only do teachers and the way they teach are important for the cause of prison reform, but that they might become much more important for the cause of abolitionism. Will research into experience of the CCEs advance any of these debates? This is why a direct enquiry is required to realistically comprehend the construction of the experiences of CCE.

# CHAPTER 3

# PHILOSOPHY, RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Previous chapters illustrated that teachers were poorly represented in prison research and suggested that research into experiences of the contracted correctional educators' (CCEs). I also argued that their point of view about their prison experiences might provide some interesting findings to help improve their teaching experience. I also suggested that adding their perspective to prison employment might raise some important questions regarding the validity of theories of "prisonization."

Goffman (1961: 27-28) differentiated between knowing and being as illustrations of decoding, clarifying and explicating rather than as instances of psychic union. In other words, knowing the prison experience of CCEs requires sensitivity to them in order to understand what their lives are about and to gain the ability to decipher the meaning of their experience. The debate about the question of knowing is summarized here as a notion implying two simultaneous processes: differentiation and categorization; and the discovery of relationships from the perspective of those experiencing it.

"What is the experience of contractual correctional educators?" "What" questions have their basis in the fundamental problem for historical understanding. Answering "what" questions involves weeding out legends and misconceptions to see what really happens to them.

According to Marius and Page (2001: 58) "a thesis sets down a point of view a subject uniting a dissertation, a proposition the author wants others to believe." The word originally meant to prove or to assert, so the thesis is the argument, the reason the document is written, and the point to be proven. Four modes of writing contribute to the presentation of this thesis: narrative, description, exposition and argument (58-84). These are distinct and even when they overlap one does predominate.

*Narrative* tells stories which are the foundation of history. Narratives tell *what* happened, *who* was involved and follow a sequence of events as they happen, one after the other. It looks easy but it is complicated in the sense of what to include and what to exclude, what to believe and what to reject. In narrative contradictions in the evidence must be taken into account, be resolved or it must be frankly admitted that they were not or could not be resolved.

*Description* tells *where and how* events occur and accounts for sensory experiences as well as impressionistic descriptions of attitudes and behaviours, of people and places. The senses are the common denominator, consequently concrete details of physical reality allow readers to imagine it, place themselves in it temporarily, and to find it understandable if not familiar. You may not have had every experience described but sounds, smells, sights and sensations convey a sense of familiar reality which helps you believe the speaker. Another kind of description is more impressionistic, more metaphorical and therefore more subjective even if the impressions and emotions are common enough to be recognizable.

*Expositions* explain and analyse ideas, causes, motives of participants, significance and implications, inner working of organizations and ideologies. Exposition coexists with other modes because it tells *why* events unfolded as they did and adds significance to the meaning of the story.

*Argument* is used to take a position on a controversial subject built around a proposition the author wants the readers to believe. Ideally, the argument is part of a dialogue between opposing views. Practically, argument is part of a debate: it includes exposition explaining the author's point of view and aims to prove that other points of view are wrong. The outcomes can be controversial and provocative thus, ensuring further research and counterarguments based on scepticism.

## I. A Philosophy of Critical Realism for Critical Inquiry

### Multi-paradigm Research.

Many contemporary research projects in American and English Canadian social science rarely address philosophical or "metatheoretical" issues for two major reasons. First, meta-theoretical assumptions usually function within the "common sense" of an intellectual or institutional paradigm. Second, within a multi-paradigm market, these paradigms rarely confront each other directly. Where researchers do explicate their research paradigm, it usually serves an authorizing function for a specific set of questions, postures and methodologies while its overall tenability is treated as a matter of cultural taste in a segmented market (Porpora 2001: 260).

The absence of any meta-theoretical discussion about different cultures of inquiry appears to be a luxury for either the powerful or the ignorant that critical researchers can ill afford because they challenge untested taken-for-granted assumptions. The recognition that there are different yet equally legitimate cultures of inquiry poses an important question for a multi-paradigm market: how should differences within and between paradigms be adjudicated? Where market-based and managerial approaches are used to evaluate research they end up imposing their own form of instrumental rationality. However capitalist or bureaucratic logic foregoes intellectual forms of rationality in favour of factors related to profit margin or social control rather than the power of the inquiry to comprehend the existing state of affairs. This dissertation does not propose to have *the* solution for the multi-paradigm problematic except to raise its significance, to suggest there are different ways to address the problem, and to identify that critical realism differs from other philosophies in suggesting the importance of greater meta-theoretical discussion of philosophical assumptions underpinning social inquiry. However, critical realism is only one philosophy used to justify social science and judge the legitimacy of research. Its principal competitors are positivism, traditional humanism and postmodernism.

### Positivism.

Philosophical positivism is the dominant metatheory of social science in economics, political science and behavioural sociology; whereas, traditional humanism (hermeneutics or interpretive analysis) tends to dominate in history, anthropology and comparative studies. In many ways, the dominant positivist paradigm for *scientific* research on educational and corrections institutions is inappropriate for this study of teachers because it would merely add another mechanism of surveillance of the very people who are already under the constant gaze of government officials and corporate managers. Furthermore, the positivist approach to research and the various structural functionalist theories about "institutionalization" or "prisonization" it generates is now understood from postmodernist and critical realist perspectives as part of the very social dynamic and policy problems generated by research practices that facilitate the description and construction of identities. Critical realism, unlike postmodernism, treats the latter product of descriptive social research as a secondary phenomenon; but nevertheless, it does not ignore this research problematic as do positivist approaches.

### Traditional Humanism.

Traditional humanism and cultural romanticism provided the assumptions for the development of the historical-hermeneutic or –interpretive sciences such as history and linguistics. According to Schwandt (2001), *hermeneutics* "refers generally to the art, theory, and philosophy of interpreting the meaning of an object (a text, a work of art, social action, the utterances of another speaker" (115) although in the human sciences, hermeneutic means primarily "the theory of interpretation as a particular methodology"[13]. My usage of the term "hermeneutics" is consistent with this definition as historical interpretation and takes two forms of analysis: (1) text analysis of Company X employee archive and (2) the ethnographic analysis of the lived-experience of CCE participants.

The hermeneutic method is based on a critical analysis or explanation using the method of the hermeneutic circle. According to Schwandt (2001: 114):

> The method involves playing the strange and unfamiliar parts of an action, text or utterance off against the integrity of the action, narrative, or utterance as whole until the meaning of the strange passages and meaning of the whole are worked out or accounted for. . . . In applying the method the interpreter abides by a set of procedural rules that help ensure the that interpreter's historical situation does not distort the bid to uncover the actual meaning embedded in the text, act, or utterance, thereby helping to ensure the objectivity of the interpretation.

This method is sometimes called the "verstehen" or interpretive method. As a hermeneutics of suspicion, then, interpretive methods take on a somewhat different approach to historical and ethnographic analysis. According to Neuman (2000: 85) the reason for research in humanist interpretive social science is to understand and describe

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13 This epistemological (social science) approach to hermeneutics should not be confused with the ontological approach to *philosophical hermeneutics* as in the work of existential phenomenology of Martin Heidegger or Hans-Georg Gadamer – or, even the *radical* or *deconstructive hermeneutics* of Jacque Derrida or the *critical hermeneutics* of Jürgen Habermas.

meaningful social action. A critical realist approach builds on this "insider epistemology" or ethnographic way of knowing to challenge myths and to help social subordinates to change their society. Interpretive social science also defines social reality in an interactional fluid equilibrium. Humans are assumed to be continuous meaning-makers whose own power to theorize constitutes their "common sense." The purpose of the researcher is to describe and reconstruct the meaning systems of the participants. This "theory" or reconstruction is considered "true" if it resonates with the self-understanding of the participants. Value judgements are based solely on the participants' value systems.

However, a critical approach to interpretation differs on many of these assumptions. It assumes that social reality is governed by hidden underlying structures. The creative potential of people is unrealized because they are trapped by illusion or constrained by oppression or disempowered by exploitation. The common sense of participants can be part of the problem and an "outsider" point of view can provide insights about the limits of taken-for-granted understandings of participants or introduce important trans-cultural evaluations by which to judge a particular cultural tradition as not necessarily good just because it is traditional.

The *philosophy* of critical realism is the preferred approach to hermeneutics for this thesis and this has specific implications for conceiving historical and ethnographic analysis as critical inquiry as I show later. These implications relate to what Paul Ricoeur characterized as the "hermeneutics of suspicion" that informs the radical inquiry of deconstruction, poststructuralism and postmodernism or the critical inquiry of historical materialism and critical theory. Where radical hermeneutics is profoundly skeptical of whatever purports to be the truth and its goal is to decipher, decode or unmask truth-claims or "reality" as nothing but contingent, relative or proxies for power, critical hermeneutics trusts that even though representations of reality are cultural constructs and likely to be proxies for power, language and dialogue holds hope for restoration of meaning and a means for rationally conceiving definitions and justifications for truth-claims about reality (Sayer 1992, 2000; Schwandt 2001: 114-15; Scott 2000). Thus, the critical realism has a stronger family resemblance to critical hermeneutics and other forms of critical inquiries than it does with existential, phenomenological or radical forms of inquiry

### Romantic Radicalism and Postmodernism.

There has been a longstanding romantic or radical culturalist reaction in education research against "science" and "rationalism" in the name of the reductive practical arts or the imaginative poetic arts that finds its natural ally with postmodern philosophy, especially in the idiographic social sciences, such as anthropology and comparative studies, and the interpretive and subjectivist streams in history and sociology (Steinmetz 2005). The backlash against philosophical positivism in education research, however, has reinforced some of the older humanist and romantic orthodoxies regarding scientific theory and practice and has even elicited new postmodern orthodoxies tending in their more extreme versions of the hermeneutics of suspicion to promote skeptical or nihilistic anti-realism, the virtues of self-refuting logic, and/or escape into faith-based or the aesthetically-driven epistemologies (Norris 2005; Sayer 2000). According to Morrow with Brown (1994) strong postmodernism results in "throwing out the critical baby of science with the radical bathwater of anti-modernity." Porpora (2001: 261) writes:

> to the extent that ethnography, in-depth interviews and historical narrative all address the play of multiple mechanisms in the causally open world, these are methods particularly favoured by realism. . . With this powerful authorization of intensive research methods, critical realism has a niche market among qualitative sociologists.

However, the philosophy of critical realism does not restrict research to humanist methods because it can also accommodate methods normally associated with positivism and postmodernism. As for postmodernism, its characteristic method is textual analysis which can be applied not only to the literal text and to the symbolic content of all social phenomenon. Furthermore, postmodern methodologies alert researchers to look for more than the meaning of verbal and non-verbal language to identify the performance, utility and functioning of language in the symbolic and social settings and as potential acts of consent, manipulation or coercion – that is in this case, the researcher can interpret ethnography, in-depth interviews and historical narratives *for more than their semantic content to get at their syntactic and pragmatic utility* for corporate managers, government bureaucrats, corrections educators, and the practical concerns of education researchers. Postmodernism, thus, alerts researchers to the political purposes that language can be put both as a form of domination as well as a potential for resistance and abolitionism.

### Critical Realism.

Critical realism, on the other hand, does reject the drift to ethics, aesthetics, metaphysics and religion in response to skepticism and nihilism or extreme postmodernism, especially if it means also rejecting many of the progressive gains from accruing from modernity (i.e. capitalism, science, liberal democracy). In this way, critical realism presents itself not as anti-postmodern but post-postmodern and continues to draws on different elements from positivist, humanist, romantic, and postmodern approaches to research (Sayer 2000; Scott 2000). The "epistemological pluralism" of critical realism was an important factor in helping to reconceptualize the research in the later stages of the data analysis. Because of its distinctive approach to ontology (ways of understanding being) and epistemology (ways of understanding knowing), it authorizes epistemological pluralism and mixed methodologies and methods in research.

### Critical Realist Ontology.

According to Sayer (1992: 12-84), critical realism distinguishes its philosophy in privileging ways of being (ontology or existence) over ways of knowing (epistemology or essence). Positivism and humanism privilege "knowing" over "being." Positivism and humanism also each reduces "human reality" to either one or the other pole of the subjective sensation/understanding equation: positivism to objective appearances (subjective sensations as "naïve" or empirical realism) and humanism to personal or cultural meaning (subjective understandings as *conceptual* realism). Postmodernism erases the distinction between being and knowing and between the representation of real objects and thought objects. Critical realism retains the distinction of appearance from objective empiricism and subjective meaning from conceptualism and treats them as two different modes of human awareness that refer to two different levels of reality. These modes of awareness do not so much represent reality but are different means for acting in and then on reality. Unlike the reductive dualism of positivism and humanism, the basic stratified ontology of critical realism is premised on a holistic trinity: appearances refer to empirical "reality," understandings refer to conceptual reality, and explanations refer to causal Reality.

### Methodological Assumptions.

Critical realism assumes that (a) *cognitive processes* are set within material structures, are constrained or enabled by them, but cannot be reduced to them; (b) *practice* links knowledge and the world but it does not abolish the radical difference between them or provide knowledge with absolute guarantees of truth; and (c) there is an interpenetration of the frames of reference of observer and observed (i.e. a double hermeneutic) that blurs the distinction between *thought objects* (i.e. concepts, theories etc.) and *real objects*, properly qualified (Sayer 1992: 12-84). The distinction can be maintained because "although social phenomena cannot exist independently of actors or subjects, they usually do exist independently of the particular individual studying them" (Sayer 1992: 48).

## II. Practice-based Critical Inquiry: Critical researcher as the "stranger"

James Bohman (2003) writes about critical theory as practical knowledge and distinguishes three epistemological models: the participant, the observer, and the critic. He points out that critical theorizing occupies a distinctive space both between and beyond the internalist epistemology of participants that informs humanistic interpretive models and the externalist epistemology of observers that informs positivist models. Where the first model understands the researcher as an "insider" and the second stands as an "outsider;" the critical-reflective participant performs as a "stranger."

The CCEs were strangers to the prison. Simmel defines the stranger as

> the potential wanderer…who has not quite gotten over the freedom of coming and going. He is fixed within a certain special circle - or within a group whose boundaries are analogous to special boundaries - but his position within it is fundamentally affected by the fact that he does not belong in it initially and that he brings qualities into it that are not, and cannot be, indigenous to it (Simmel [1908]1971: 143; 1921).

Feminist standpoint theorist, Sandra Harding (2003), points out that the "researcher as stranger" is linked to various and different research traditions that share similar potentials and take on this critical kind of logic for inquiry found in Georg Lukacs ([1927] 1971), Karl Mannheim ([1929] 1936), Robert Merton (1972) and Georg Simmel (1921). Contemporary research methodologies also have similar potentials, for example, participatory action research (McTaggart 1997; Maguire 1987; Petras and Porpora 1993).

Similarly, the feminist standpoint research methods of Dorothy Smith (1987, 1990) and Patricia Hill Collins (1986, 1991) also share a somewhat similar orientation: however, they tend to understand the characteristic researchers' beliefs as ontologically *ascribed* by sex or race rather than as having epistemologically *achieved* a certain set of cultural beliefs. More specifically and important to this research, however, is another person Harding includes in this category, Paulo Freire (1970), *critical researcher as stranger*.

My understanding of a Freirean approach to researcher as stranger is also informed by other kinds of research models I have been exposed to over the years. These may be recognizable to others as drawn from Marxist and Weberian heritages and contemporary versions of critical inquiry developed by the Frankfurt School tradition in Germany or the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies in the UK. No doubt many of these influences have come through from my PhD supervisor, Dr. Kachur, who has struggled (sometimes quite unsuccessfully) to attach the adjective "critical" and "social" to my "phenomenological" work on these issues. Readers may also notice secondary inflections from American cultural anthropology, the former resulting from my previous educational interests and my extended community identifications with First Nations and Metis people in northern Alberta. Also hints of French poststructuralism and Parsonian structural functionalism may be evident: the former cannot be ignored in graduate programs today and the latter's concepts hovers in most faculties of education in English North America like ghostly reminders that structures do not change as much as we might think (role, function, core values).

The researcher as stranger has the advantage of challenging not only the colonizing and instrumental perspective of the outsider but also challenging and enhancing the views of the colonized who may be unknowingly participating in their own oppression. For the researcher as ethnographic stranger, however, not all imposed conceptual frameworks are unreliable. "Many [frameworks] are valuable since 'the stranger' often can detect patterns and causes of behavior that are difficult for 'the natives' to see" (Harding 2003: 300). The primary advantage that the stranger brings to the insiders from the outside are the material, cultural and intellectual resources and from having gained a measure of cultural distance from living as an outsider also. The stranger's subjective positioning borrows from both insider and outsider knowledge to provide a unique and valuable perspective.

Harding argues (2003: 297) a research standpoint that can ". . . see the world 'behind', 'beneath', or 'from outside' the oppressors' institutionalized vision" is an epistemological achievement based on difficult cultural work. Epistemic privilege or virtue cannot be ascribed or imputed solely on the basis the ontological status of particular bodies or cultures. In other words, there is no necessary relationship between someone *being* a slave and *knowing* what slavery *really* is and there is no necessary relationship between *not* being a slave and lacking the capacity to know something about a slave's life.

This stranger's perspective, in the sense that I define it, lives between two worlds or rather in two worlds at once yet is at home in neither. The presence of the stranger is "estranged" and is continuously recognized and misrecognized as "one of us" or "one of them." The stranger stays but may leave at anytime and as a critically-reflective researcher uses the epistemic position to move from one world to the other and back again to get new understandings and insights that neither the insider nor outsider can know. These shifts in different kinds of perspective-taking mark the aims, methods, theories and forms of explanation for critical-reflective research as different from standard understandings usually promoted in both the observer-oriented natural sciences and insider-oriented social sciences who tend to picture the stranger as "one of us" until they become aware that the stranger may be "one of them" and in the confusion misrecognizes critical-reflective research as "nothing of the sort," especially when the tasks of multidimensional and interdisciplinary social research throws the interplay between philosophy and social science into the mix. The result, according to Bohman (2003: 107), is that

> Properly reconstructed, critical social inquiry is the basis for a better understanding of the social sciences as the distinctive form of practical knowledge in modern societies. Their capacity to initiate criticism not only makes them the democratic moment in the modern practices of inquiry, but also reflexive inquiry into the basis of social inquiry itself. Normative criticism is thus not only based on the moral and cognitive distance created by relating and crossing various perspectives; it also has a practical goal. It seeks to expand each normative perspective in dialogical reflection and in this way make human beings more aware of the circumstances that restrict their freedom and inhibit their practical knowledge.

Practically, being a stranger allowed me to synthesized the conceptual opposites of the properties of attachment and detachment to any participant, topic, or pre-existing interpretation. It was a specific form of interaction where the union of closeness and remoteness is patterned in a way where one who is close by is remote and one who is remote is near. Thus, as a stranger I became an element of the participating group itself while membership involved both, being outside it and confronting it for two reasons.

First, in the sphere of personal relations the stranger is attractive and meaningful, so long as she is regarded as a stranger and restrictions give her the specific character of mobility which "within a bounded group occasions that synthesis of nearness and remoteness which constitutes the formal position of the stranger. The purely mobile person comes incidently into contact with every single element but is not bound up organically…with any single one" (Simmel [1908]1971: 145). That position gives the stranger's objectivity an attitude that does not indicate "mere detachment and nonparticipation, but a distinctive structure composed of remoteness and nearness, indifference and involvement" (145).

Second, non-participation places one outside the distinction between subjective and objective orientation. Objectivity is a positive and definite kind of participation indicative of "a mind working according to its own laws, under conditions that exclude accidental distortions and emphases whose individual and subjective differences would produce quite different pictures of the same object" (Simmel [1908] 1971: 145-146). This means that freedom allows the stranger to experience and treat relationships from a detached third perspective and it implies the dangerous possibilities of finding expression in the more abstract nature of the relationship to him whether it is common to a group, a type, or mankind in general. In other words the stranger is free, "practically and theoretically; he examines conditions with less prejudice; he assesses them against standards that are more general and more objective; and his actions are not confined by custom, piety, or precedent" (Ibid: 146).

In addition, for me the stranger's approach had five significant advantages:

1. It reflected my current relationship with the operations of prison and contracting entities.
2. Objectivity allowed me to pursue knowledge without being encumbered by possible loyalties resulting from past associations with individuals or entities.
3. The connected objectivity (Simmel [1908]1971: 145) manifested itself repeatedly during the process of research when as a stranger who will move on, I received the most surprising revelations and confidences, at times reminiscent of a confessional, about matters kept carefully hidden from everybody with whom one is close.
4. Each occurrence bridging the gaps between researchers and participants could easily be identified.
5. Inter-connected subjectivity was experienced when participants and I became interchangeably, learners/researchers.

This meant that I could combine different ways to establish a perspective: by backing up, by studying various elements from various viewpoints and by considering with a degree of detachment rather than only from the eyes of engaged protagonists.

### Prison as a Cultural System

While Simmel differentiates between objective and subjective cultures, Popper holds cultural systems as "third world knowledge" (1994: 5), and Archer (1998) calls a "cultural system" the corpus of all cultural artefacts capable of being grasped, deciphered, understood or known by someone about a product of our human mind. Popper's distinction between subjective mental experiences and objective ideas is a causal statement between thought-processes and their products standing in logical relationships. If so, the cultural integration of CCEs to the prison as "prisonization" (mental concept) would be contingent upon particular patterns of interconnections at two different levels (physical and social) and also between the two different levels (physical and emotional, or intellectual). As the participants learned about the prison's and the contractor's structure and operations they also discovered themselves as cultural artefacts and they questioned this. Ultimately, a morphogenetic cycle (Archer 1998), resulted while a participant moved from cultural conditioning to cultural interaction and cultural elaboration; the cycle becoming continuous as the end-product constituted the beginning of another spiralling cycle of cultural change.

The prison system with its continuous intake and release processes appears to be an open cultural system but through the bureaucratic manipulation of its socio-cultural realm it is made to operate as a closed one. This is why Archer's (1998: 503-543) dualistic approach to cultural analysis of cultural systems was relevant. It resulted in uniting structural and cultural analysis requires identification of the distinct characteristics proper to the structural and cultural domains and shows the advantages of approaching structural domains by distinguishing between system and social integration accrued in the cultural to improve the explanation of stability and change. For those who enter this closed system, complex definitions and intricate subdivisions are unnecessary because all that is required is to know "what kind of animal we are dealing with" (504) in order to clarify how to handle it. This was the general approach first taken when the participants moved from schools on the outside to the prison schools. They initially equated prison schools and education with the public ones and were subsequently disillusioned. It was when they started to note the differences that they started to distinguish prison and correctional characteristics and notice educational and operational changes.

Using Archer's model the more the participant questioned the more they found had been taken for granted. The disillusion extended professionally, personally, socially, and politically. And they lacked the means and the language they needed to express it without being fired. This is why this research was relevant to them and why they wanted to participate: they had something to say, to share about a situation which had nothing much in common with what it was supposed to be. This was a way to warn potential recruits. It was also their way to say "enough is enough;" to express resistance to the prisonization and marginalization they are subjected to as CCEs and as individuals. It was an abolitionist act supporting their new affiliation and reaching beyond the confines of the prison and of privatization.

## III. Research Design

The fundamental core of the dissertation is provided by critical ethnographic field research and analysis. Following from a Freirean understanding of critical pedagogy as a potential form of critical realist inquiry, the research design of the dissertation comprises three methods: historical and ethnographic analysis and critical theorizing about andragogy for abolitionism. To repeat a point from the Chapter One, the study's purpose is directed at documenting the experience and identifying the unmet needs, suffering and false beliefs of CCEs by teasing out the particular forms of domination and passing judgement on the sources of illusion and oppression they encountered.

### Empirical Procedures for Critical Inquiry.

Danermark et al. (2002: 165) summarize the empirical procedures of the critical realist "intensive" method whose purpose is to identify generative mechanisms and describe how they are manifested in real events and processes:

> **Research questions:** [1] How does a process work in a particular case or small number of cases? [2] What produces a certain change? [3] What did the agents actually do?
>
> **Relations:** Substantial relations of connections.

**Types of group studied:** Causal groups

**Typical Methods**: Study of individual agents in their causal contexts, interactive interviews, ethnography, qualitative analysis.

**Limitations**: Actual concrete patters and contingent relations are unlikely to be "representative," "average" or "generalizable." *Necessary relations discovered will exist wherever their relations are present, for example, causal powers of objects are generalizable to other contexts as they are necessary features of these objects*. (emphasis added)

**Types of account:** Causal explanation of the production of certain objects or events, though not necessarily representative one.

Layder (1993: 72; in Danemark et al. 2002: 169) also summarises the major elements of the research: context, setting, situated activity and self where each element requires a different but related research focus in developing a research map.

**Context:** Macro social organization

Values, traditions, forms of social and economic organization and power relations such as legally sanctioned forms of ownership, control and distribution; interlocking directorships; state intervention as they are implicated in the sector below.

**Setting:** Intermediate social organization

**A. Work**: Industrial, military and state bureaucracies; labour markets; hospitals; social work agencies; domestic labour; penal and mental institutions.

**B. Non-work:** Social organization of leisure activities, sports and social clubs; religious and spiritual organizations.

**Situated Activity:** Social activity

Face-to-face activity involving symbolic communication by skilled, intentional participants implicated in the above contexts and settings.

Focus on emergent meanings, understandings and definitions of the situation as these affect and are affected by the contexts and settings (above) and subjective dispositions of individuals (below).

**Self**: Self-identity and individual's social experience

As these are influenced by the above sectors as they interact with the unique psycho-biography of the individual.

Focus on the life-career.

The dissertation is structured to follow an intensive critical realist research map. The next two chapters focus on the context and setting of the CCEs and the rest of the following chapters focus more on the situated activities and self-understandings of CCEs. The purpose of these empirical chapters is to identify generative mechanisms, and in the last chapters analyze the generative mechanisms in proposing a practical intervention called "transmutive andragogy."

### Procedures for the Historical Analysis.

Broadly speaking, the dominant method underlying the three parts of the research design could be called a "history of the present." It thus could be considered qualitative historical research. This approach, according to Neuman (2000: 389), assumes

1. the researcher's perspective plays an integral part in the research process,

2. the data are approached inductively in many its many details until understanding is acquired,

3. the researcher entertains a continuous dialogue between data and concepts,

4. the present findings are translated into a meaning system,

5. the action and structure presupposes that people construct meaning but within structures,

6. the research draws limited generalizations that depend on context.

However, a historical method goes beyond field-research to incorporate (a) the reconstruction of textual fragments and incomplete evidence, (b) a researcher's self-reflexivity to guard against using an awareness of factors outside the social or historical context of the study, and (c) assumptions about human consciousness of people in a context and understands motives as causal factors. Also, (d) these causal factors are not limited to individuals but are contingent on conditions which work below the surface of experience and are due to a combination of elements, and (e) link micro and macro levels or layers of social reality.

### Procedures for the Critical Ethnographic Analysis.

I approached my phenomenological work as a form of "ethnographic realism" that reflects the assumptions of ethnographic naturalism. In this approach, John Van Maanen (1988; in Schwandt 2001: 78-79) identifies four conventions of texts which characterize "realist tales."

1. While the author is virtually absent from the research narrative, the experience of the researcher serves as a source of authority.

2. The documentary style is employed to focus on the mundane details of everyday life and demands strong observation powers of the researcher.

3. The respondants point of view if produced with extensive, closely edited quotations to convey the lived-presence of the participants.

4. There is a marked absence of reflection in favour of the representations of the participants.

While Van Maanen's approach provided a good starting point for interpretation, it is somewhat inadequate by the standards of critical realist and postmodern approaches to ethnography. Van Maanen's empirical realist approach to phenomenology cannot address many problems addressed by critical ethnography. Critical realists and postmodernists agree that the doctrine of ethnographic *empirical* realism and its approach to texts is flawed because it assumes that fieldwork texts can be direct, matter-of-fact accounts of other people's experience unclouded by how the field-worker produced the texts (Schwandt 2001: 79). This *non-critical empirical* realism also fails to account for the construction of the matter-of-fact lived-experience of participants as a product of hegemonic social and cultural systems. Research, thus, necessarily, needs the researcher and the participants to reflect and collaborate in engaging with and understanding of the social and cultural systems the researcher *and* the participants are immersed in.

According to Porter (2002: 59), a critical realist approach to ethnography goes beyond phenomenological and postmodern approaches for a practical reason: *if ethnography is to be of any utility for our understanding of society, it has to posit some form of generalizable truth claims*. This is not to say that the issues highlighted by both phenomenology and postmodernism can be rejected out of hand because "from phenomenology, we can glean the importance of understanding subjective meanings as the basis of social action [and] from postmodernism, we are aware of the dangers of making absolute claims about those understandings" (59). In rejecting the methodological individualism of phenomenology and the anti-realist skepticism of postmodernism, critical realist ethnography may be able to provide information of practical use but has no option but to claim some capacity to provide generalizable knowledge. As Porter (2002: 71) points out, this generalizable knowledge is based on the assumption that human activities and relations are somewhat historically and coherently structured for extended periods of time while still being open to historical contradictions, agonisms, and transformations.

Essential to critical realist ethnography then is a focus on the relationship between structure and action. However, a critical realist approach differs from the work of Giddens's (1984) who also sees the relationship between structure and action as interdependent and that certain social structures necessarily pre-exist individual agents. Anthony Giddens sees structure and agency as two sides of the same coin whereby structures only enjoy a virtual reality until they are instantiated through social action; however, Margaret Archer (1995: 72-96) criticizes his cultural model as a "central conflation" that resurrects a new dualism between structure and agency within language. Critical realists, according to Archer (1995: 89), forgo dualistic assumptions to recognize that structure and agency work at different time intervals with structures defined as embedded or habituated "actions of the past." Contemporary actions, thus, either maintain or transform already developed structures. According to Porter (2002: 64)

> Transformation of structures through action is rarely an instantaneous process. There are two main reasons for this. First, not everyone in society acts in the same way and there will often be groups in society who benefit from the status quo, and who will therefore have the motivation to resist change. Second, structural conditions pertaining will often place limitations on the pace of change. . . . Thus, from a critical realist

> perspective, rather than being one, structure and action have distinct realities of their own which operate on different timescales.

This statement supports a critical realist ethnography.

Unlike philosophical positivism, critical realism acknowledges the potential constraints of cultural traditions and the power of different scientific rhetorics; however, it distances itself from philosophical humanism and postmodernism, by emphasizing the *necessary but insufficient* functions of cultural understandings, values, practices, and performances (as tradition or power) in the determination of facts, research, and theory. Critical realism assumes that scientific knowledge is a function of tradition and power, but this knowledge is not *only* a function of power. If done adequately, it can also provide a *better* accurate representation and if done appropriately can also develop *better* normatively *progressive* evaluations. Although never above contestable facts and values, empirical and normative theory choice is accomplished via abduction, that is, arguing to the best theory and practicing the best ideals. However, given different and better analysis, arguments and practices, previous claims and practices can also be empirically and normatively criticized and superseded.

## IV. Methods

In this project document analysis, narrative and interviews/dialogue where the chosen methods to provide a rich and layered data for analysis.

### Particularities

### Ethics and Confidentiality

Protecting my participants was important because their participation could affect their relationships with the contractor, CSC, and their peers on site and, ultimately, jeopardize their employment. Consequently, all the meetings and contacts were conducted away from their place of work and pseudonyms are used. I also refrain from physical descriptions of individuals and sites and provide only the essentials to locate the experience. Furthermore, I discarded elements of the coding scheme which could have led to internal identification of individuals or sites, unless they were of the public domains. Where events could have betrayed an individual, I have minimized potential identifications.

I share details about myself because I have been away from Company X since 1996, and making references to where I was and what happened might indicate what changed or not.

### Field notes

During the entire processes of research, interview, analysis, and writing, I kept field notes. I ended up with almost seven notebooks full of scribbled notes, ideas, observations, impressions, connections and references. These were useful in the analysis and extended the research and the writing process. Important primary data was kept in and remains locked in a safety deposit box.

### Informants

In addition to the recruited participants, 39 individuals voluntarily formed a useful network of legal, correctional, educational, labour, management and of specialized and practical expertise to rely on. These knowledgeable individuals were encountered between 1994-2003 through various correctional, educational and research activities and acted as fieldwork assistants, debriefers, guides in developing an understanding, providing information on what I could not know or experience myself in the prison and corporate culture and about prison and privatized groups.

Some were part of my professional network and I felt comfortable in approaching them during my studies and subsequently, during my research. We had a relationship already based upon respect and trust. Four were considered friends. Others approached me with "suggestions" or sent me documentation after hearing my research related presentations (1997-2003) or of them. These 16 unknown persons and I had to establish some measure of trust based upon the nature and source of information. Surprisingly, not one individual failed to facilitate aspects of the research. Even if they were distanced, impartial, or disengaged, they remained helpful in providing clues. In the end, however, it was my responsibility to do the analysis of the primary data for the findings and to provide interpretations and explanations for those findings.

I took a different approach with the participants with the co-participants in the interactive phase of ethnographic andragogy. With all informants, I respected certain protocols to avoid the possibility of entrapment and to prevent subsequent embarrassment for them:

1. When I contacted informants, I specified that my questions were research related. This allowed them to set limits to information and disclosures; and

2. when a limit was set, I asked for a "suggestion;" to open another avenue.

3. I did not use their names or specifics leading to their identification; referring to them instead as Informant # [in the order in which I interacted with individual]. Any quotation is done after obtaining specific permission to quote otherwise, I paraphrased.

4. Any conversation was noted (informant, date, time, topic) in field notes, coded to spreadsheet format for quick reference and triangulation and filed.

5. Any written exchange (e-mail, fax, letter, photocopy or document supplied) were coded to the informant's file by date and topic. Mailing envelopes were kept and filed when anonymous contacts were made: the postmarks indicating provenance and time of contact.

6. My supervisor, Dr. Kachur was shown the list of informants, characteristics and qualifications in 2003 for verification. He was the only other person with legitimate access to the primary data and codes.

The Informant network confirmed and shared information, clarified understandings and practices, suggested resources and references; and referred me to other informants or sources. The access they provided was invaluable in separating facts from opinions and in triangulating historical, legal and practical developments. These individuals were also a constant source of support and encouragement in the investigative and interpretive process.

### A. Document Research and Analysis

Archives are important because of the value attached to them personally, professionally and as a community. There is no past beyond the memory of individuals and many institutions have amnesia if records do not exist. History and the archives that support its investigation give us a sense of our place in the world. Archives help us understand the past, they place the present in context and enrich the future.

According to Canadian leading expert Laura Coles (1989: 1), "Archival records are the non-current records of an individual, organization, business, government, or other institution kept for their continuing research value." In general, archival records provide information about the history of a company, person or event and may also have value in legal testimony, financial evidence, administrative information. Correspondence, policy statements, financial references and other archival records may be used for histories, statistical surveys, sociological studies and even to provide background for fiction and drama (2). Archival records illustrate a history: purpose, goals, functions and activities over time and as research tools can extend beyond the narrow scope of a company history. Archival depositories are specialized and acquire records within a specific geographic area, relating to specific times and concerning specific topics as complete units documenting the growth and development of the company from its beginning to the present day (2-3). Ultimately, archival records lead to an appreciation of the significance of the services and workings of the company and its standards in its basic management (4) because records reveal all facets of the company: policies, decisions, production, successes, failures and historical development (5). Finally, records of a company illuminate many aspects of society including politics, education, and linguistics such as its impact on political and social thought about correctional education; the nature of its approaches to education and its impact on prisoners; the relationship between administrators and teachers; women's studies; economics of privatization; adult and continuing education; literacy; sociology of the problems and crises they faced; and language and linguistics practices influenced and changed by association with the prison (6-7). Records of a company are important. They provide a portrait of its business.

Archival records reflect the function and activities of their creator (10-13). Each company creates its own operational records but there is a basic structure to records management. Business records group themselves into operational records and administrative records. *Operational records* reflect central policies and important activities: its operations. Contract, budgets, and annual reports are considered operational reports. Operational correspondence has research use. Key operational record includes files relevant to acquisitions, production, marketing and distribution.

*Administrative records* or personal documents illustrate the employees' world and offer additional information about the employment's reality. To understand this reality we need to access all the documents which are the threads in its fabric because they are action-oriented documents depicting the day-to-day activities and needs of the company. These are often referred to as housekeeping records: documents about employee benefits; holidays; requests and decisions; employment records; correspondence such as memos, notes, faxes or e-mails.

To the employer, a file becomes inactive only after it has served its purpose. An active file is needed regularly by the creator to answer legal questions, substantiate tax returns or meet other government regulations this means that even if the employment is terminated the file can still be considered active if kept on hand. In employment regulations, a file is inactive after the employment terminates, if legal documentation requirement are met and if, the file is not referred to more than once a month. Once it is no longer needed, files become archival or obsolete. As archival operational records they still retain value, documenting practices and decisions, as evidence of work at a particular time. As administrative record, they are obsolete, and have served their purpose: they may be destroyed but must be kept for seven years to satisfy provincial and national legal requirements.

In this research, Company X, Prairie Division's archive of employment was the source of the demographic data needed to say who the CCEs were and why they had left. Access had been requested and granted and this archive of employment files was consulted and compiled in Company X's office during the week of May 28–June 2nd, 2000.

As Human Resources Development Canada sets the legal norms for documenting employment, an employee's file is more than a bureaucratic requirement: it documents the evolution of the employee-employer relationship and as such it becomes an historical document ordered in time and layered in function. The regional Administrative Assistant had the responsibility to document and maintain files; however, she took her direction from the VP and the corporate head office. This might explain why 11 files lacked basic documentation and why certain files lacked Records of Employment forms or other documents. This documentation problem is discussed in Chapter Five.

Document analysis provided an unobtrusive method of enquiry in the documented employment history of the CCEs as a group. Between September 1, 1994 and June 2nd, 2000, 76 employees had been hired and left. Of these past employees, eight had worked in more than one setting, so there were 84 documented experiences of employment.

The data were originally compiled alphabetically while using a 24 columns columnar pad. First, I first set up a file inventory sheet so I could see all the records available and their linkages. Second, I documented each file's administrative records and operational records. Any administrative correspondence found on file was noted according to date, content and outcome. Cross-references were made when people were mentioned. Specific expressions and outcomes were also noted.

According to Coles (1989) there is a concept in archival research called the "*fat file theory*: the thicker a file, the more material it contains, and therefore the more significant the activity it documents" (28). In these files, I found that the documentation was often particularly difficult, complicated, challenging or even contradictory information about events and incidents. For these reasons they conveyed interesting pieces of informative history and became the sources of further inquiry and wonderful and unexpected insights.

In the following week, the data were converted into an alphabetical spreadsheet on Windows 98, Corel Office.

The first analysis was quantitative and literal. The demographic data collected was categorized by the site of employment, date of hiring/departure, gender, age, marital status, professional education and specialty, years of prior experience, length of correctional employment, position, salary, correctional professional development, promotion, and if not retained the reason(s) given for it. Indian Status was identified to document employment parity with visible minorities. Taxation forms and Applications for medical coverage established wage earners' status and extent of family obligations and responsibilities.

Second, in a manipulation of data each entry was coded by a number indicating the order of hiring and departure across the region: (i.e. 94.5 meant this was the fifth person to leave in 1994). Thus, I re-interpreted the patterns against employment practices and longevity.

Finally, another coding scheme recreated the sites' dynamics by coding entries by order of hiring at each of the 13 school sites. Then, coding was changed to indicate the site and order of leaving at that site (i.e. 10.5) and comparison between the two results followed. At that point, previously noted correspondence, annotations and cross-references took new meaning as they revealed specific dynamics at the sites contributing to non-retention. This allowed the identification of personal, corporate, institutional, and systemic factors contributing to departure and affecting service delivery.

The result of this archival employment documentation and analyses are reported in Chapter Five.

## B. Interviews and Analysis

### i. The Participants

#### Recruitment of participants

I initiated the recruitment of six participants by presenting a brief overview of my research during the Annual General Meeting of the Alberta Correctional Educators' Association (ACEA) (Ottawa, May 3, 2000) and distributed thirty-seven packages containing the information page, consent form, and stamped return envelope to all the eligible ACEA members attending.

The research generated interest and the response rate was encouraging. Twenty-two potential participants volunteered within two weeks.

### Criteria for selection of participants

The original criteria for the selection of participants were:

1. Active membership in ACEA;
2. Location: currently employed by Company X, in a federal setting in the Prairie region.
3. A time commitment for three interviews (3 hours) and review of transcripts (1 hour);
4. Availability during the summer months of 2000.

By mid-May 2000, it became apparent by the response that certain locations were not represented while others were overwhelmingly so. Therefore, in early June 2000, I referred to the preliminary demographic findings to determine three other criteria based on factors of polarization emerging from the demographics: length of service, position and gender.

Length of service allowed voicing recent, past and ongoing experiences, thus casual observations, impressions, and patterns could be validated over time (horizontal and linear patterns) as length of service varied from a few months to six years amongst the applicants. I had been both a Teacher and a Teacher-coordinator and I knew that position differentiated knowledge of strategies, roles and responsibilities within the vertical and structural relationships between the CSC, contractor and CCEs. Seeing the list and distribution of applicants I wondered if having participants from the same institution could add depth to the findings. Referring to the patterns of conflicts previously identified at the sites, I chose two participants with different responsibilities and length of service. Finally, gender allowed me to compare and contrast the rituals shaping male and female experiences while defining the relationships within the prison school.

I ended up with a representative sample of six participants who will be introduced in more details, in Chapter Six.

## ii. The Interviews

### Settings

The settings for interviews varied between my university office, the outdoors, a hotel room, and in the homes of the participants. To the participants this option of choice allowed maximum level of comfort and privacy while ensuring confidentiality in the work place and with the contractor.

Four participants chose their homes or yards for the site of the meetings and these were the most open and emotionally revealing interviews. The most neutral environments were hotel rooms; probably because we were in sterile or non-descript surroundings. However, one subsequent session became as open and emotionally charged, as the ones in the homes. My office certainly appeared to reinforce the formal aspect of the exchanges.

### Critical Ethnographic Interviews

My approach to interviews was based upon what Freire (1970) called voice, dialogue and empowerment. Similar critical approaches are now advocated and summarized as feminist approaches (Neuman, 2000: 282) or critical ethnography (Porter 2002: 59-71). These criteria and are in keeping with generally accepted and well understood ethnographic research practices:

1. unstructured, open-ended sessions;
2. interviewing on more than one occasion;
3. establishing a trusting relationship by creating social connections;
4. appropriate self-disclosure by the researcher;
5. being open, receptive, and understanding;
6. carefully and respectfully listening and becoming emotionally responsive to the person;
7. avoiding control and encouraging equality as co-participants in dialogue;
8. downplaying academic status;
9. avoiding researcher or questionnaire oriented processes and opting for a respondent-oriented direction; in which I became a co-facilitator of the enquiry process;
10. encouraging the participants to express themselves in the way they were most comfortable with: telling stories, following digressions, while relating them to experiences;
11. facilitating an empowering experience for all persons by asking for their interpretations, suggestions and recommendations.

During two or three private, conversational, open-ended interviews the participants recounted their experience since becoming CCEs. The terms, analogies and metaphors used to describe the experience were the focus of additional inquiry. Clarifications, insights and recommendations were sought. The participants were also encouraged to share personal forms of expression illustrating their experience. These were considered and included in the data and interpretive process as further examples of codification.

### Duration

The duration of the interviews had been underestimated and their numbers varied. I took direction from the participants when they were reluctant to drop the subject and preferred to lengthen the interviews to give them an opportunity to say what they wanted to say. All participants had equal opportunity to further clarify meanings or elaborate on a theme through phone contact, in writing or by e-mail. Some exercised these options immediately to add to their interview or later, to clarify the transcripts.

### Dialogue

Dialogue in the interview was an opportunity that presented itself[14]. When dialogue took shape, participants became co-participants and interviews became "inner-views" allowing participants and I, insiders' views to our understandings of the prison and into some very personal and private spheres of our lives. These inner-views were almost like backward glances spoken aloud, and they were full of symbolisms and meaning as to who we became.

### Pattern of interviews

At the first interview, I asked the participants to provide some background information about themselves. These provide the demographics of their group which are reported in Chapter Six, Demographics of the Participants.

I had asked the question: "What is the experience of CCEs?" it was the aim of the participants to answer it and they came prepared. In speaking of their experience participants adopted a narrative mode and went from talking of, to speaking about and revealed what really mattered in their experience. The pattern indicated an *inverted rippling*:

1. Participants started the interview by telling me what was important to them.
2. They voluntarily kept returning to certain topics and adding information;
3. while gradually moving downwards from intellectual detachment towards various emotional states in 3-4 moves.
4. In doing so, they also moved from the workplace into their lives.

At first the four stages appeared separate but they were part of a greater spiral pattern to which I will come back to in Chapters Seven and Eight and to what Archer (2003) calls an *implosion*. My role during the process was changed from interviewer to active listener. As such, the questions I asked for to clarify my understanding of what was said or why it was said. As a listener my previous personal understandings could be challenged as for examples, with the diverging institutional practices of orientation and training; the schools' operational hours; the reported stories of women; the forms and impact of violence. This allowed me to paraphrase the participants and my previous understanding and to say "I wonder if…" or "does it mean that…?" which open the door for dialogue, a shared inquiry of the situation and its possible interpretations. These could not be closed because more often than not they required further research on my part, as did the querries of the participants. Some of these answers are found in Chapter Four and provide the reader with an advance knowledge that we lacked.

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[14] I use dialogue dynamics in my courses and interactions with students since 1987. Using Freirian dialogue allowed me to receive an undocumented "reserve education" and later a "prison education." Furthermore, community dialogue groups exist in Alberta: I participated in the Edmonton (1992-1994) group before joining the effort to establish the Calgary one (1994-1995). During this time, I discovered that in England, David Bohm and Peter Garrett have worked from 1984 in the development of Dialogue groups as socio-therapeutic enquiry into social fragmentation in the prison world as staff, inmates and outside facilitators were participating in the process. This interest in dialogue led to my voluntary involvement in the dialogue group at Edmonton Institution for Women (EIFW) (1997-99) and in co-authoring and co-presenting on the subject (Garrett, Ryan and Barrette, 1999).

At the same time, as a facilitator it was also my role to unblock communication, pursue inquiry and open avenues. Body language and bias and assumptions were the most commonly encountered manifestations of these blockages. Bandler and Grinder (1982) introduced Neuro Linguistic Programming (NLP) in the study of communication to address the subconscious ways in which the body conveys messages of its own. Body language includes gestures and movements, breathing patterns, eye movements and posture. All were readily observable during interviews. Incongruent body language affected spoken language meanings and led to questioning what had been said and how it had been said (Lewis and Pucelick 1990).

Also, when participants made statements indicating an assumption or bias, I utilized a Life Skills technique called "Spearing" to deflate the false sense of security or knowledge they provided. Bias and assumptions are based in untested personal experience and rest on emotions. They reveal a lack of information. They are often indicated by the use of strong words such as "always, never, all, none" or by very strong basic emotions such as "hate, love, or other such extreme." Asking a what, where, or when question about provenance identified their roots. Then asking "How does it affect you?" outlined the personal consequences of the assumption/bias. The aim is not to remove or convince but to deflate the certainty. Therefore opening space for doubt is the next step and questions such as "How many…? How often? Is there another possible explanation/interpretation/version? What else?" will usually do this. Once doubt is seeded, the thinking process re-engaged and led to a re-assessment of position/opinion. Then, new information could be introduced either by the participant or myself.

At no point was it my place to ask "why" questions of the participants because I was not interested in provoking defensive responses. But, as the researcher I could keep asking myself the same questions and additional why questions to get at motives. Thus, Chapter Four became as much the answer to my own questions as to those of my participants.

### Imagery

Any occurrence of imagery was a verbal picture and it was explored with the participant for the meaning and symbolism it contained. Reactions and interpretation had the potential to perchance advance consciousness.

### Transcription

All the interviews were taped and transcribed. Copies of transcripts were sent to each participant for clarification, correction and possible editing. Half the participants returned their transcripts without any change or deletion. In some instances clarifications and corrections made at this time were of dates and events supported by evidence (copies of letters and e-mail, news articles) that participants had tracked themselves during the interim. On the other hand, for the remaining half, the few deletions pertained mostly to extremely self-revealing passages; or when participants changed their mind about a specific passage which they fell revealed their identity. All requests were respected.

### Coding

To get to the experience of the CCEs the transcripts were coded in open form by going over each sentence/paragraph and asking "*what is talked about.*" The coding identified categories in descending order from more inclusive to less. In some cases the less inclusive categories became sub-categories. Even if each participant had started from a different entry point, overlapping the six sets of coding categories revealed strikingly similar patterns and concerns in spite of the distance separating participants. What varied was the depth a category could reach with each participant. Exceptions and deviations were noted. So were mentions of facts, opinions and assumptions demanding attention or further investigation.

### Categories

The data were coded into 26 categories and provided a basic rendition of the experience with its professional, political social and personal ramifications. These categories are the backbones of Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. Some categories have deeper layers of data and meaning than others and while these clusters provided clues to the depth and ramifications of the impact of the experiences they also revealed areas of ignorance.

### Facts and opinions

This was an interesting category for clarification. What is a fact and what is an opinion? In keeping with the hermeneutic of suspicion, in this research facts were tangible and supported by evidence. The evidence could be found at hand, at other times in another interview, or in the document research, or in corroboration by Informants or through direct, indirect or fortuitous means. An opinion could become a fact through evidence; unsupported they remained opinions.

### Assumptions

This was a tricky category because of the knowledge gaps and expectations it revealed. For example, assumption of teaching and prison professionalism undermined one another's practices. Another example of assumptions resulted in expecting "teacher's rights" in an environment where rights are subjugated to institutional needs. Furthermore, the assumption of employer's care was significant to CCEs' disappointment and subsequent sense of abandonment and betrayal. Finally, ignorance of legislation regulating employment and private professional issues indicated how isolated CCEs were from certain forms of knowledge.

### iii.a. Analysis

In order to understand the participants and their experience it was necessary to fully comprehend what was said and this meant paying attention also to how it was said and why. Informed by critical approaches I operated in three stages.

1. *Thematic analysis* a methodological variation of ethnographic research resulted in thick descriptions. These descriptions provided organized accounts of the stories and explore the deeper meaning structures which the participants were sometimes unable to confirm or validate.

2. *Linguistic analysis* revealed verbal behaviours generated by the impact of the experiences.

3. *Critical analysis* identified the forces and paradoxes influencing the experiences and the choices of participating CCEs.

### iii.b. Interpretation

Habermas (1984) positioned interpretive aspects upon language, and introduced a complementary framework to clarify meanings in the life-world, in social behaviour, and in human action. His interpretive research approach required (a) empirical and analytic inquiry to seek explanatory knowledge; (b) a situational interpretative inquiry to provide accounts supporting the meaning which could vary from one individual interpretation to the next; and (c) a critical inquiry to question the descriptive accounts and probing the assumptions underlying empirical or interpretive interpretations.

In life, language is both a medium and a product of social interaction as we are socialized into it. During the interviews, this language socialization was reflected in the ways we used it, especially when it had an expressive function for feelings as a social dimension. Also, language had a direct social function by providing means to question, command, argue, confer respect or contempt, establish relationships and conduct our research enterprise.

For the participants the prison social reality was generated by the way they thought and talked about it, by agreement about its nature, by the way it was explained and by the concepts used to grasp it. Language had effects of its own as meanings emerged from the play of interactions and associations between components and the structure of language. It was an act of construction; however, its effects were not fixed, new interpretations were always possible and could never be foreclosed.

Teachers before entering the prison had been socialized and professionalized and their language reflected the profession to which they belong based upon reciprocal relationships confirming meaning and practice. These concepts are in and about society, reciprocally confirming, and interdependent but they established dependence between the realms of idea and matter which individuals negotiated.

Systems of domination like the prison exploit both types of dependence through appropriation, control and allocation of essential material requirements by the dominant class, race, or gender, and also through the reproduction of particular systems of meanings which support them. The constitutive meanings were not neutral or indifferent to their associated practices but different participants had very different or even contradictory material stakes in their reproduction or transformation.

My hermeneutic consideration of the three modes of scientific research revealed that they could be contrasted at the analytical level but that they overlapped in practice, even if most researchers refrain from such integration. For example, language as it pertained to communication and the inter-subjective world of working resisted serving as a vehicle for meanings which transcended their presuppositions. Therefore, every finite meaning had to rely on indirect language and its terminology for the sociological structures of the everyday world to be revealed. This language of objectivity examined and described everyday life. However, the participants could have remained unaware of the relationship between the description of the life-world and their social scientific understanding of it. Consequently, the connection was re-established between the two orders and resulted in objective knowledge of subjective meanings linking critical social sciences with philosophical hermeneutics. As Habermas (1984: 336) writes:

> …the collective background and context of speakers and hearers determines interpretations of their explicit utterances to an extraordinary high degree naturally this meaning could not be thought independently of contextual conditions which could supposedly be derived in turn from the literal meaning of the linguistic expression employed.

Contextualization involved finding familiar patterns of associations (Sayer 1992: 63). However, the process of making inferences was difficult in times of moral panic when these associations were projected and focused on a particular group. Certain expressive mechanisms provided a temporary outlet for pent-up fears and at times for euphoria even when they could be crude and somewhat irrational. Then the barriers between provinces of meanings were always shattered by social concerns or by subtle economy of rules by which people structure their experiences, actions and institutions. Thus, language became crucial in monitoring and restructuring causal patterns of association or/and sense-relations of unexamined knowledge so that the differences between necessary and contingent relations and between warranted and unwarranted associations became understandable.

Analysis was completed only once the meaning of the data had been clarified and grounded within verbal behaviours; otherwise, the behaviours could alter or even negate what was or had been said.

### Verbal behaviours

Verbal behaviours are ways in which speech is expressed. These manifestations are observable and form a distinctly individual form of sub-language conveying nuances to spoken language.

### Voice

According to Carol Gilligan (1982) voice is a complex, multifaceted, multi-layered process and forming speech is a materialization, externalization, and internalization of forces. What participants knew, what they had learned from their experiences was present in their voices and this posed a challenge to acts of reclamation, acts of resistance, acts of healing and empowering through which they could gained or re-gain their own sense of consciousness and reality by recognizing their perceptions as socially constructed.

The ways in which they expressed the experience provided another viewpoint through which participants could be heard and seen (self-monitoring). Therefore, the hermeneutic circle became a phenomenological spiral encompassing knowledge and releasing the potential of transforming consciousness. Having spoken they could then be active in their own liberation by ending their prison self-representation (problems, victims, or experts) which were perpetuated and co-created prison oppressive dynamics and contributed to silencing.

In the final document, I convey the level of difficulty expressed by the participants in giving voice to their experience by leaving in the quotations the struggles they experienced with language, their hesitations or abrupt changes of topics.

### Metaphors and analogies

In this analysis metaphors and analogies played a role in the process of conceptual development because conceptual systems are construed through metaphors (Kjargaard 1986). Such picture-carrying expressions represent a combination of sets of empirical terms, each taken to be capable to of referring to its object, plus a logical formula which relates these atomistic observational terms together (Carter, Goddard et al. 1997)

This language construction found in the language of the participating CCEs was worthy of interpretation, analysis and evaluation because if it reflected how participants saw their world; and how they saw themselves in it. The social reality of prison was generated by the way people thought or talked about it, by our agreement about its nature, in the ways it was explained to others and by the concepts used to grasp it (Frappier-Mazur 1976; Gumpel 1984).

Metaphors and analogies had effects of their own going beyond the intents of the users. Meanings emerged from the play of interactions and associations between components and contexts found present not only within the structure of the language but also as conscious and sub-conscious acts of construction. Chapter Nine will demonstrate the importance of metaphors played in the development of the model of transmutive andragogy.

### iv. Evaluating the Prison Experience

The prison experience was evaluated in relation to the context of the CCEs' life, culture, language, beliefs, gender and identity because within these value-contexts that the change and abolitionist paradigms have meaning. By identifying life circumstances and motivation to enter the prison, it became easier to inquire into what affected them. It also served to identify pre-conceptions and assumptions about prisons and the self.

For Fay (1996), experiences are constructed and shaped by interpretive assumptions such as expectations, memories, beliefs, desires, and cultural prejudices or past experiences. Therefore, remembering the past as an evocative and powerful image is a function of where you are in the present. Memory involves re-interpretation to render the significant and meaningful layers of memories through current knowledge, understanding, interests or in view of a new experience. Re-interpretation refutes that "...no one-to-one correlation exists between objective circumstances and inner experience" (1996: 16).

I was not the one to evaluate the prison experience of CCEs because I wanted them to evaluate it from their perspective. However, I did provide three means to do so and then evaluated their responses. (a) I asked all the participants if and how they had been affected by their prison experience as the opportunities presented themselves. (a) In four instances, I specifically enquired about their television watching habits as it is the most prevalent public form of prison representation in most people's lives. And, (c) I asked them to specifically rate themselves on the Abolitionist Scale. These processes and results will be found in Chapter Eight.

### Summary

This research formulates the individual experience of the CCEs as a crisis of integrity. Contrary to all expectations the participants had already started to identify gaps between the social ideals and social reality of working within prison in a privatized capacity, on their own. Even when the lived-experience and the life-world of the participants were pragmatic, their analysis resulted in identifying pervading structures or styles needing to be studied and led them to expressions of emancipatory manifestation (Morris, 1995).

Participating teachers had their pre-prison life as context to the prison experience. Consequently, in learning the prison they completed a single hermeneutic; learning about routines, expectations, role, rules and behaviours in a new setting and geographical layout (physical realism). Those who studied the ideas and concepts-dependent privatization did a second hermeneutic to make sense of it against a repertoire of previous employment experiences (critical realism/Marxist). Some stopped there, satisfied or disillusioned.

However, the critical realist ethnographic research approach generated knowledge arising from an open ended question whose answers required constant moves between levels, so that what was taken for granted was challenged:

1. Teachers and teaching outside prison were considered "normal;" correctional deviations were "abnormal."
2. Moving from outside to inside the prison created estrangement: teachers were strangers.

3. Adaptation created recognizable fractures between what one is inside and outside the prison (now) and what one was before (then); and led to the realization of defamiliarization.

4. Participants started their narratives from their access point and versions of "prison."

5. Thinking, internal conversation, and reflection helped make sense of experience; then

6. Dialogue linked internal employment features to elements of world-views and inner-views.

7. The knowledge results in generalization as Self becomes Other, one amongst a group sharing similar characteristics and conditions, and allows the naming and theorizing of the CCEs' experience.

The research furthered the awareness of participants by breaking down the cognitive, bureaucratic and institutional structures and arrangements reproducing ideologies and practices sustaining them. This was clearly a socio-political outcome since the Canadian political process operated to block or minimize social transformation by protecting established institutional and corporate interests.

However, in my opinion those who progressed to study "prisonization" did a triple hermeneutic of the socialization processes from birth onward which challenged their self-concept (critical social and mythological hermeneutic phenomenology). From there a fourth hermeneutic, an emotive emancipation from the intellectual limitations imposed by the meanings and concepts supporting the social facts of criminality emerged to release the abolitionist potential and create the emancipatory reality (phenomenology).

The transmutive process was the unexpected result to a forced resocialization and to attempts to rationalize prison and its practices when individuals were threatened with the loss of their individual essence: each participant found him/herself fighting for integrity. While gaining awareness of the many aspects of prison internalized through socialization, CCEs experienced this integrity conflict and came to realize that its roots were their passion. This passion acted as the raw fuel of their human existence, as the yearning inside that resisted. When visited by passion everything they believe was thrown into question and troubled the waters of the soul carrying them to the farthest shores of human experience. This was the unrecognized potential of the prison experience awaiting any who chose to engage in it.

# CHAPTER 4

# THE CANADIAN CORRECTIONAL CONTEXT

This chapter provides the reader provides *advance knowledge* of the Canadian correctional context: the development and organization of its prison system and related factors about its policy making in education and their implementation and implications. It focuses on the socio-political processes contributing to the emergence of the professional group of teachers defined as contracted correctional educators (CCEs). First, I outline the ideology and fractures of prison. Second, I present an overview of bureaucratic structure and logic legitimizing the presence of CCEs in federal penitentiaries. Third, I investigate and assess privatization and, finally, present a radical alternative emerging from the experience. The ability to see these current micro phenomena in relation to the past and current macro contextual socio-political factors and processes of shaping correctional policies and its environment is essential to understanding the impact of the prison experience.

In the course of the research, gaps of information about correctional policy and privatized employment within the penal schools were identified. The macro-analysis provides answers to questions posed by the participants and explains dynamics affecting CCEs' employment, status and working relationships. Then, it becomes possible for the reader to better understand the systemic fractures and the ideological and political difficulties faced by the CCEs because

> When people lack a critical understanding of their reality, apprehending it in fragments which they do not perceive as interactive constituent elements of the whole, they cannot truly know that reality. To truly know it, they would have to reverse their starting point: they would need to have a total vision of the context in order to subsequently separate and isolate its constituent elements and by means of this analysis achieve a clearer perception of the whole. (Freire 1970: 95)

It is important to note that when the CCEs entered the prison to teach they did not understand the history and governance of the Canadian correctional context nor were they familiar with the organizational structures. While I give the readers this information up front, it is crucial for them to remember that the CCEs and I gained this kind of knowledge only through explorations when the knowledge gaps and our interest in them became important to our understanding of their experience. The participants said: "if I had known…." and they wondered *why the information had not been shared with them before entry.*

From this *post hoc* and advantaged point of view, I concluded that if the participants had been better informed about the historical and social context of their teaching experiences it would have assuaged many of their frustrations or sense of failure because they may have realized that the crises they faced were not solely of their own making but also the product of the way a prison system politically works. Furthermore, this knowledge would make it more difficult for politicians, policy-makers, administrators and managers of the different prisons and education systems to shirk their responsibilities or to attribute unjustifiable cause for the problems to the CCEs. When the participants accessed some of this information, it helped clarify their misunderstandings, assumptions and perceptions as I am hoping it will do for readers who may be familiar or not with prisons or education but certainly not with prison education.

## Correctional Education Policy

The Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) is legally responsible for rehabilitation and education within the correctional setting. Its role is determined by two documents: the Mission Statement and the Mandate of the Education and Training Division.

> The Mission Statement was amended (1995) to read:
> The Correctional Service of Canada, as part of the criminal justice system **and respecting the rules of law [bolded in text]**, contributes to the protection of society by actively encouraging and assisting offenders to become law abiding citizens while exercising reasonable, safe, secure, and humane control.
>
> This mandates the Education and Training Division,
> To assist in meeting the identified education and vocational needs of offenders in fostering rehabilitative aspects required for reintegration to the community as productive, contributing, law-abiding citizens.
> To facilitate continuity in educational programming when offenders are released into the community.

To an outsider a prison is a mysterious place. Though prison and schools may share similarities in history and structures, educators know very little about prison and even less about the particularities of working there. It was therefore not surprising that the research revealed that the recruits professed ignorance of the prison politics and of the processes making their presence necessary. In addition, according to Rejai,

> political ideology is an emotion laden, myth saturated, action-related system of beliefs and values about people and society, legitimacy and authority that is acquired to a large extent as a matter of faith and habit…ideologies have a high potential for mass mobilization, manipulation, and control…they are mobilized belief systems." (1984: 9)

Ideology could explain why everyday, CCEs enter and work by prison rules; why the participants encountered levels of hostility and why conflicts were inevitable. In addition, apparent ideological acceptance manifested by the retained CCEs' presence illustrates why their retention is explained by the discourse of "prisonization" while the real implications of "prison professionalism" upon their lives, remains unknown. Finally, ideology could also explain why CCEs experience moral inner-conflicts.

History is not an isolated process and people are history makers, transmitters, and keepers even when they are not aware of it. In compiling the experience of CCEs between the years 1994-2000, this dissertation adds a chapter not only in the individual life history of each CCE, but also to the history of their employer; to the history of correctional education; to the history of Canadian prison; to the history of Canada and similarly, to global prison history.

## I. Institution

### Correctional Services of Canada

The Correctional Services of Canada (CSC) is a national agency under the Department of the Solicitor General; operating under the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (CCRA, November 1992). The CSC is responsible for administering court sentences of two years or more as set out in sections 730 and 731 of the Criminal Code of Canada.

The administrative structure of CSC was defined by the CCRA. There are three levels of management: (i) National, (ii) Regional, and (iii) Institutional and District Parole Offices. The CSC is presided over by an appointed Commissioner who is the Senior Executive Officer of CSC, accountable to the Solicitor General of Canada. The Commissioner has several Deputy-Commissioners to assist him, one in each of the five administrative Regions: Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, Prairie, and Pacific as well as a Senior Deputy-Commissioner and a Deputy-Commissioner for Women, added in 1996. Several Assistant Commissioners oversee various aspects of the CSC mandate including the Correctional Operations and Programs, under which correctional education falls.

### Legal basis

The CSC is governed by a series of Acts passed by the Parliament of Canada: the Constitution Act (1982), the Criminal Code of Canada, the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (1992) and its amendments. In addition, it must also follow policies laid down by the Government of Canada such as the Multiculturalism Act (1971) and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom (1980), while maintaining the peace and security of the Service, its employees, and its charges.

Furthermore, international agreements such as the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules with Regard to Treatment of Prisoners (1989), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1990), the Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (signed 1985, ratified 1987) also apply. However, the review of specific literature relating to the treatment of prisoners and their rights (Barrette, 1998a) confirmed the findings of a United Nations report (1995: 30-36) showing Canada's apparent delay, if not reluctance, to implement certain agreements. In spite of the prior international assessment, the Arbour Report (1996) revealed how in practices the prison system continues to act in cruel and degrading ways.

### Mandate

To CSC is mandated the responsibility to administer the detention process of adult offenders -and those elevated to this status- sentenced by legally constituted courts of Canada to a term of two years or more. The classification of offenders is based on the security risk they present during a series of assessments[15] initiated at the Regional Reception Centres during the first six weeks of incarceration. The results are entered directly into the Intake Assessment section of the Offender Management System (OMS). According to Gertsman (1999) the variety of interviews, including a preliminary psychological evaluation, is based upon the assumption that something about the personalities of offenders must be known before they can be processed. From there, the offender will be categorized and moved through the correctional system, under the supervision of Case Management Officers (CMOs)[16], until released.

**Figure 2: Linear Model of Restraint, Reform, Rehabilitation and Reintegration**

| | ***Restraint*** | ***Reform*** | ***Rehabilitation*** | ***Reintegration*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Security risk** | High | Medium-high | Medium-low | Low |
| **Features** | Segregation<br>Lock-up<br>Special units | 8-8-8- schedule<br>Labour | Programs<br>Work | Open-custody<br>Parole |
| **Institution type** | Maximum<br>Special units<br>Psychiatric Centres | Medium-high | Medium-low<br>Multi-level<br>Women | Units outside periphery<br>Healing Centres<br>Halfway houses |

Source: Barrette, 1998b

The progression through prison appears linear as risk reduction brings the prisoner closer to release. However, this does not mean that prisoners move only in one direction as behaviours, attitudes, and security requirements can lead to reclassification, at any given time. This reclassification possibility is due to the fact that CSC "has the responsibility to amend the behaviour of these offenders prior to release from custody and to better prepare them for reintegration to the community" (CSC Mission 1995: 12).

The reality of sentencing and of the individual's subsequent classification is that if there is no demonstrable change in the offender's behaviour, it is highly unlikely that Statutory Release will occur at the 2/3 point of the sentence. The prisoner would then be detained until Warrant Expiry Date, the end of the sentence decreed by the court of law.

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[15] Some of the tests are computerized while others are done in person, or through observation. While interviews are structured they also provide volumes of information such as body language, speech patterns, expressions, language proficiency, estimates of cultural affiliation that cannot be captured during a computerized test. This additional information plays a role as it is later explored at the discretion of the Case Management Officers (CMOs).

[16] CMOs are charged with managing the case of each offender during each phases of the sentence: upon sentencing, while in the Institutions, preparing for conditional release, and while on conditional release (Gertsman 2000: 15). The CMOs write or summarize in writing any report dealing with the offenders on their caseloads. It would be highly unusual for a CMO to administer a case from beginning to end.

### Responsibility

As of September 2000, CSC was responsible for 69 institutions, including four regional Mental Health facilities and three other facilities called Healing Lodges, built on Reserve lands. These facilities were justified by the Canadian rate of incarceration of 133 persons per 100,000 Canadians, the second highest in the Western world after the United States.

**Table 1: Adult Correctional Facilities in Canada (2000)**

| | 1995-96 | 1996-97 | 1997-98 | 1998-99 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **#Federal facilities** | **68** | **71** | **76** | **69** |
| Maximum security | 10 | 9 | 12 | 10 |
| Medium security | 19 | 19 | 19 | 21 |
| Minimum security | 14 | 16 | 16 | 14 |
| Multi-level security | 8 | 10 | 10 | 7 |
| Community Correctional Centre | 17 | 17 | 19 | 17 |
| **#Provincial/Territorial facilities** | **157** | **148** | **145** | **142** |
| Secure | 124 | 119 | 114 | 113 |
| Open | 33 | 29 | 31 | 29 |

Source: www.npb-cnlc.gc.ca and www.csc-scc.gc.ca; November 4, 2000

CSC maintains 67 Parole Offices and Exchange of services Agreements with most provinces and territories. In addition it has an Exchange of Prisoner programs with many countries and duly sentenced offenders may request to serve their terms/sentences in the country of their birth. Finally, CSC has contracts with over 150 halfway houses, Day Parole Centres or Community Correctional Centres and Community Release Facilities to accommodate conditionally released offenders.

**Table 2: Adult Correctional Services in Canada (2000)**

| | *Federal* | *Provincial/Territorial* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total custodial population | | | |
| Admissions | 7,418 | 210,591 | 218,009 |
| Average inmate count | 13,178 | 19,233 | 32,411 |
| Admissions | 7,406 | 97,224 | 104,630 |
| Average daily count | 7,778 | 110,798 | 118,576 |
| Expenditures | **$1,140,000** | **$1,110,000** | **$2,250,000** |
| Average daily cost per capita | $171 | $123 | |

Sources: www.npb-cnlc.gc.ca and www.csc-scc.gc.ca November 4, 2000

In Table 2, federal admissions include all admissions due to sentencing; parole revocation; termination of release; interruption; transfers from foreign countries and other admissions/detention such as immigration holds. Provincial/Territorial admissions include provincial/territorial admissions as well as federal inmates admitted to the provincial/territorial system pending an appeal or transfer to a federal penitentiary.

Average counts refer to the actual in-count and therefore excludes inmates temporarily not in custody at the time of the count. Provincial/Territorial data includes probation, conditional sentences, and parole for jurisdictions operating their own parole boards. Federal Community population includes federal offenders on day parole, full parole, and statutory release, as well as Provincial/Territorial offenders released by parole in provinces/territories that do not operate their own parole boards.

The September 1996 option of imposing conditional sentences affected the counts and attempted to decrease raising costs of federal institutions by accelerating transfers to community facilities. In actuality, it shifted bodies and shuffled costs. In 2000, it costs the Canadian government $2.26 billion dollars to covered expenditures in adult corrections only. These costs are all inclusive from arrest to release.

### Rationale

Canada and CSC have adopted the view that confinement, as directed by a court of law, is the punishment inflicted on the offender and that all else must contribute to the cure and rehabilitation of the offenders who are expected to constructively re-enter society. However, Andy Scott then Solicitor General of Canada has said:

> There is no clear evidence that locking people up, in particular those who are non-violent and who do not pose a threat to the community, will improve public safety, or the ability of the offender to rejoin society as contributing, productive, law-abiding citizens. Effective corrections recognizes that prison is necessary for some offenders who pose a danger, but it can be detrimental and counter-productive for others who could be more safely and effectively handled through community programs. (Symposium on Beyond Prison 1998)

Hennessy (1999), after serving six years on the Citizens' Action Committee of the Kingston Penitentiary, concluded that the prison, as it functions, does not serve Canadians in the way it is laid out in the Mission Statement. Consequently, he raised difficult questions about closed institutions: "whether they work or are just a source of income and employment precluding looking at the facts that they are obsolete and dysfunctional" (The Intelligencer, Feb. 13, 2000; Law Times, Feb. 28, 2000; Kingston Whig-Standard, Apr. 7, 2000).

### The Correctional Strategy

Over the years the Correctional Strategy has included a variety of resocialization interventions to deal with the criminals. Since the Seventies, CSC has based many of its treatment approaches upon the Social Learning Model (Gertsman 2000: 36) meaning that the CORE program (available at all sites) and other various programs under this category are based upon cognitive and behavioural restructuring.

In practice, the Strategy means that since 1985, CSC has implemented a "milieu therapy" (Gertsman 1999: 38) meaning that "all institutional activities are scheduled to offer rehabilitative activities." Even when non-evident, activities are parts of the institutional programming as they contribute to and converge upon changing attitudes, behaviours and values through routine and repetition. Over time, acceptance of routine might compensate for whatever learning might be lacking and bring about a measure of apparent conformity. But it is not enough to secure prisoners' release unless all needs identified since intake appear to have been addressed.

At times, prison activities and routines infringe or conflict with the various treatment programs ideologies and when they do they take precedence over them. While this change of priority facilitates the functioning of the institution, it subverts higher aims and values for all involved. In one such example, Education ideology has pragmatically shifted back to literacy and basic academic upgrading; while [vocational] Training pertains to prison employment. This is not surprising given that in the Canadian prison history, inmate learning has always been a contentious ideological issue shifting according to the political agenda, economic interests, and public opinion.

### Ideological and Historical Antecedents

Christianson (1998) documented penal development over 500 years in Northern America and concluded that prisons emerged from the European values of punishment and Protestant work ethics, and that they were strongly influenced by capitalist economic interests. He denounced the economic interests by revealing the inextricable historical link between forms of slavery[17] and imprisonment.

Canada inherited its prison ideology of restraint and punishment through colonial efforts. The British prison system's influence spread to the colonies[18] and supplanted previous forms of justice. Simultaneously, the Quakers' ideology, of the 19th century, deemed the humane treatment of prisoners necessary to the reintegration of prisoners to society as contributing citizens. Colonies as emerging countries were in need of workers and settlers. They could always promise a chance at respectability and even, at prosperity. Canada, although not a penal colony, was no different and it would take ideological change and political action to force organization and alteration.

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[17] He documents and includes in this category convict transports to the colonies, indentured servants, slaves, military conscripts, colonial jails, domestic prisoners of war and political prisoners.

[18] For example in India, prisons were unknown until the arrival of the British. Datir (1978) documented the evolution of the prison as the primary mode of punishment (1835) and showed how the prison as a social system survived Independence (1948), by adhering to a series of penal reforms moving its focus from deterrence to reformation, and subsequently to rehabilitation.

In 1850, the Lafontaine-Baldwin government appointed Dr. Wolfred Nelson[19] as Prison Inspector. In 1852, he reported to the Legislative assembly and to the Governor General and commented on the state, discipline, management and expenditure of prisons he had surveyed and visited. The report was the first set of uniform procedures aimed at increasing the accountability and quality of operations and it resulted in the creation of the federal correctional system. Nelson's recommendations were implemented and endure to the present in, for example, the classification of offenders, prison employment, treatment, education, parole and pardon. This kind of impact was possible because Dr. Nelson had not stopped at submitting his report: he published it (1852); he attracted public and political support; and for the next years applied his reforms while continuing to demand legislation to regulate prisons in three ways.

First, he made evident that prisons needed to meet economic times and that a changing society needed institutions to address social needs rather than depending upon charitable groups. Identifying issues surrounding the living conditions of destitute children and juvenile delinquents and of women and men housed indiscriminately in the various prisons of the district, Nelson noted repeatedly, how the insane[20], the vagrants, the aged, the homeless and the sick were also incarcerated, for lack of other proper facilities. By making the case, Nelson influenced the implementation of Refuges for the old and the sick; of Model Farms where the homeless, vagrants and juveniles could learn agriculture or trades and make something of themselves; the opening of an Asylum in Montreal[21] for the lunatics and the insane; and finally, for the construction of new prisons for those serving sentences for crimes of a more serious nature.

Second, his study revealed disjointed practices in the management and administration of the prisons, and indirectly, in the working conditions of appointed gaolers. The outcomes led to the redefinition of the mandate and procedures of imprisonment; the establishment of separate institutions for men, women and juveniles; and to the formation of an established prison work force.

Third, Nelson's reform plan included recommendations addressing construction of facilities and resolving economic issues while simultaneously, improving the salubrity of the facilities amounted to improving the prisoners' health and welfare. He advised that individual reformation would be advanced by industry, religious

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19 Dr. Wolfred Nelson (1791-1863), a medical doctor and skilled surgeon, was imprisoned for seven months at the Common Prison in Montreal, on December 13, 1837, and then exiled. This allowed him contact with various prison reformers, administrators, settings and practices. After his pardon, he returned to Montreal. The next twenty-one years of his life would be marked by his intense efforts to affect social changes through his profession and political roles.

20 The Asylum in Beauport, near Quebec City, was already in operation but there was a shortage of beds; consequently, in Lower Canada, there were 37 people described as lunatics or insane, kept in prisons.

21 St. Jean-de-Dieu.

instruction and secular instruction. He did not elaborate on this point but made educational contents practical to industry: numbers and measures; writing, and reading. However, he advised on the necessity of a Classic library, extent and contents undefined, and of the schoolmaster reading from the Classics during meals. So, I deduce that he was endorsing a basic education and adding the Classics as an alternative to religious readings to avoid inflaming religious tensions between Anglicans and Catholics. For example, his recommendation to develop prison economies, a pragmatic measure to ensure the self-sufficiency of the institutions became also a preparation for re-integration. Innovatively, Nelson recommended detoxification from alcohol.

The sustained influence of Nelson led to the enactment by statute of the Board of Inspectors (1858). The extensive power and responsibilities of government and inspection granted to the Board, for both public and private welfare institutions made the legislation a bold and progressive measure (Carrigan 1991: 283-287). The Board took an active role in developing policy and in supervising the entire range of administrative functions in Public Asylums, Hospitals and Prisons to expediently establish a commonality of approach and a uniform system. In turn, this achieved the emerging bureaucratic objectives of uniformity and integration of function and control while relieving the politicians of potential political pit-falls by placing the penal matters in the hands of self-proclaimed professionals.

Since the statutes provisions encroached upon local and traditional authority there was a lack of effort to implement them in 1857 and 1858. The subsequent consolidation of statutes, in 1859, included a separate Inspection Act to re-organize and elaborate the provisions by restricting the Board to supervisory and financial powers, in deference to the continuance of local administrators. Dr. Nelson "…the most influential proponent of reform" (Oliver 1998: 282) remained and chaired the finally activated Board of five Inspectors.

But, this Board was not of one mind. Aeneas Macdonell, the Warden of the Kingston Penitentiary repeatedly denounced by Dickson and Nelson for his brutality towards prisoners (Carrigan 1991: 290), had also been appointed. This incongruous choice of appointee signalled the government's endorsement of Macdonell's administration and its political tempering with the Board's efforts. Since the five Inspectors shared equal status a report written by one Inspector could not be altered without another's inspection. So when Aeneas Macdonell's reports gave an overwhelming impression of administrative efficiency because his facility was marked by order (224; 533); the Board and its Chair became undone by their own structure as much as by the conflicting duality of Macdonell's interests, as Warden and Inspector.

The early reports revealed the Board members' initial expectation to exercise their functions with a degree of independent authority setting them apart from ordinary civil servants. Acting on their assumption, they liberally criticized government policy and complained of their restricted authority when reiterated reports failed to attract attention or to bring remedy. By 1866, the Board concluded that it could make too little change in social policy; consequently, it requested that its authority be expanded to enforce its responsibilities. John A. MacDonald and the politicians of the newly formed Dominion of Canada replied that "the Board and its members had misconstrued their position…in the final analysis they were to follow ministerial instruction" (Oliver 1998: 286). The

Board members were like any other civil servants in the emerging Canadian federal bureaucracy.

Did the government fully understand the implications of its legislation? Or did it, as Nelson suggested as early as 1854, "…only seek to relieve itself from having to deal with mounting expenditures and the details of innumerable social problems?" (Nelson 1946: 63) The elite consensus shaping the emergence of Confederation also required the modernization of Canadian society and this meant reforming Canadian social institutions according to international standards. At the same time, the post-colonial nation organized through a centrist federal political power imposed itself from the top down through its department, agencies and their representatives from its capital onto the provinces and territories. However, the extent of the rejection and ignorance of the Board's policies was due as much to the hostility of local governments' elected representatives as to the opposition of MacDonald and his Cabinet. The prison as a political arena concentrated organized authority at the institutional, municipal, provincial and federal levels through the individual electoral political power.

The Board, wanting to overcome local resistance in implementing modern policy, had supported the implementation of a centrally financed and controlled institution. Such financing and control was preferable to the chaos of local indifference and to the ignorance of a true economy[22] because regulated order compared well to the frequent disorder and perceived inefficiency of local goals, poorhouses, and private hospitals (Carrigan 1991: 286-289). The Board members were attracted by the apparent states of order and responsiveness to central dictates, even as they pointed out the need for improvement, and they assumed it would be easy to affect further improvement simply by issuing orders and changing the rules. They never expected opposition because the new structure looked simple and efficient. They never expected the political longevity of John A. MacDonald; nor could they anticipate the cost and dangers of the bureaucratic ideal; and neither could they forecast the sociological and moral critique of totalitarian institutions which would arise a century later. Carrigan (1994), Oliver (1998) and Hennessy (1999) revealed the troubled prison history and the enduring priority of punishment and confirm a disconcerting aspect of prison: a long tradition of subjugation through punitive management and a culture of violence between prisoner and guard groups resulting in a 'we/they' syndrome.

In 1868, Nelson and Dickson's sustained efforts had resulted in a quick revision of the 1867 Penitentiary Act. Consequently, this set a precedent and fostered an assumption that it would be easy to obtain additional revisions. This was not to be. Nelson's insistence upon pardon (1852) paved the way for the parole legislation in 1899, but the legislation was deferred and was only selectively enacted as ticket-of-leave, in 1910. Full-scale parole would not be implemented until 1958, with the establishment of the National Parole Board (1998: 505). Full-time educational programs were instituted only in 1971. Denounced in 1852, the death penalty remained until 1976. Nelson's initial recommendation of conditional sentencing was finally enacted in 1996. That excruciating slowness to change remains a feature of the penal system.

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[22] In 1866, the average cost in a goal was $123.42 versus $78.85 in the penitentiary, per prisoner.

### II. The Limits of Canadian Bureaucratic Logic and Ideology

#### Policy Making

Schooling and prisons share historical antecedents of discipline from the church and the military and all four are hierarchical impersonal functionalistic structures predominantly occupied by white heterosexual males with aspirations of middle-class values but directed by an elitist political group. This makes change difficult and slow.

Any change is directed by policy and the evolution of the Canadian Penal system exemplifies how policy-making affected ideology and operations. Since evolution does not result in a smooth linear progression but rather in overlapping applications of the different ideologies, the functional and structural paradigms present in the overview of correctional developments represent politically and economically pragmatic incremental changes or reforms.

Dye (1981) assessed policy-making in Canada and located it at the intersection of the Elite model and the Bureaucratic model. In the Elite model policies are usually made by a small group of policy-makers who have traditionally been representative of a politically and financially dominant group determined to protect these interests (32-34). The Bureaucratic model (Weber 1946) based on a rational, logical and sequential decision making model (36-37) appeals to policy-makers and politicians due to the extensive and often hidden investments in existing programs. These investments make it difficult to legitimate the expenditures for completely new policies; and maximize the value of achievement as a concept of efficiency (32). In addition the Bureaucratic model of policy-making ensures the participation of bureaucrats who implement policy by devising strategies.

The weakness of the combined approach is that it does not look for the best solution; it only goes as far as finding a solution that will work. Thus, Dye determined that the normal life expectancy of a Canadian policy is only 10 -12 years. Furthermore, policy shortcomings results in [1] a series of partial adjustments which never really resolved the original issues; [2] contribute to the snowballing of social problems; while [3] operations become more costly in the long run. Nevertheless, there is a political advantage that cannot be ignored. Reforms have allowed for one administration to pass the problem to the next, while appearing to do something and/or to adjust existing policies, rather than attempting major changes unpopular with the taxpayers and voters.

In retrospect, the ideology appears to tear at the homogeneity of the prison while at the same time the physicality of the prison prevents the ideology from truly taking flight; therefore, the ideology is paradoxical and one's actions should reflect an individual resolution of these paradoxes. In practice this poses problems and contributes to tensions in a self-contained milieu between categories of employees because individual beliefs, interests, attitudes and values will predispose individuals towards one prison function over the others (Alward 1982: 141; 145-147).

Goffman (1961) established striking parallels in the dynamics, structures, and practices of prisons and hospitals as settings in which patients/inmates are taken care of in a way that prevents hiding or arguments. In fact, the person becomes an object, a case, a risk to be managed, cured, or fixed. His work revealed that the tensions mirror each other's for inmates and for staff. It is therefore not surprising that Hennessy (1999) through his past experiences of teaching and research came to realize that "schools are comparable to with prisons, mental institutions, and home for the aged…[they] are all designed to shape humans into semi-dependent beings for the convenience of society" (flyleaf).

**Bureaucratic Structure**

The bureaucratic structure was advocated as the ideal model until 1966. It identified the universal characteristics of features in business, government and the military:

- an increasing concern of specialization of personnel;
- competence as the rationale for promotion and appointment;
- a high degree of employment security;
- the use of the regulation of procedures to govern activities;
- a hierarchal application of authority; and
- a high degree of impersonalization in the performance of activities.

Stroup (1966) like Goodsell (1985) accepted bureaucracy as inevitable and as the only effective way to organize large institutions needing structured administration. However, Mouzelis (1967), Blau and Mayer (1971) and Niskanen (1971) are more intransigent in their critiques of bureaucracy.

One could argue that [1] if the model focuses on the formal organization and distribution of power, it does not explain the process of the organizational function. In addition, [2] it is presented as being unalterable in structure and process, and [3] it ignores formulation aspects while focusing upon delivery. Consequently, the bureaucracy in being directed by codified rules is limited and limiting in efficacy. Ultimately, bureaucracy is becoming increasingly expensive and redundant, as new technologies can replace human agents. In the same fashion, the resulting impersonalization of bureaucrats is effected by the performance of the activities: agents by being impersonal to others become impersonalized themselves. If the bureaucratic structure necessitates the adjustment of its human elements, the need to adjust is compounded when the environment is a "total institution."

**Privatization**

Since the late 1970s the "new right" (Pitsula and Rasmussen 1990: 1-5; 8-14) has been a political force in the Western world and the political alliance between the Great Britain (Thatcher, 1979), the United States (Regan, 1980) and Canada (Mulroney, 1980) saw the implementation of neo-conservative ideology with a profound aversion to government intervention in the economy, the welfare state and collectivist values in general combined with a profound admiration for private enterprise and the free market system. In addition, the new right is allied with the new Christian right also known as the Moral Majority. While neo-conservatism was an international movement with a common ideological core it expressed itself differently according to the degree of publicly owned corporations each government had to dispose of; consequently, local conditions and circumstances modified the application of neo-conservative principles in particular countries.

In Canada, the Mulroney government manifested some early rumblings of these tendencies and the 1982 elections of Van der Zalm in British Columbia and of Devine in Saskatchewan[23] gave momentum to the neo-conservative power. The federal and provincial governments moved to sell Crown corporations and privatized governmental services. Privatization purged and decimated[24] the Civil Service until 1993.

In 1984, unable to privatize or deregulate the entire Correctional System of Canada (CSC)[25], the politicians chose to privatize the academic portion of the correctional programs. The rationale provided for the decision was *to ensure the high quality of programs by requiring that the education of inmates be provided by teachers*

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[23] Long considered as the laboratory of social democracy, Saskatchewan announced the sell-off of publicly owned assets and privatization became a political crusade to eradicate its socialist legacy.

[24] Pitsula and Rasmussen (1990) made a case study of privatization in Saskatchewan and showed how the policy of privatization constituted an attack upon all institutions except those based upon private decision making in the market place because it held the view that the welfare state was both anti-family and detrimental to individual initiative. This neo-conservative political agenda resulted in the undermining of social services and the breakdown of the public welfare system while blaming labour unions for interfering with the workings of the market and for restricting the freedom of individual employees and employers. Thus, neo-conservatives governments weakened the labour movement and reduced union rights while denigrating the role of government in society alleging that government bureaucracy will do things poorly while the private sector can always do better and by disdaining the institution of government as an irksome burden they loss a valuable instrument for collective action and social betterment.

[25] The possibility of privatization had been an election campaign issue. Today, the possibility remains even if the language has since changed. In October 1999, the announcement of implementing federal prisons on Indian Reserves under tribal administration was promoted as a step in empowering Native justice. When I asked how it was different from prison privatization in the United States, I was told by the two speakers that there was no difference but in what it was called. In fact, it was also privately confirmed that American private prison contractors had visited and consulted about the operations (Informants 14 and 15, at Native Justice Conference, Edmonton, Alberta).

*from accredited Boards of Education, colleges and universities*. It was expected that privatization would bring advantages such as lower cost, efficiency and flexibility as to the variety of courses available to inmates. However, the policy was implemented slowly and gradually because it was legally challenged.

A legal battle followed the decision to privatize because it reduced the status of CCEs in federal settings. Contract Teachers in Federal Institutions: Can They Be Legally Considered Federal Government Employees? (Forum on Corrections Research[26], 1991: 28-29) summarized a partial legal debate confirming that CCEs were not to be considered as public employees. However, the Supreme Court of Canada had not ruled yet, so the outcomes were still uncertain.

In 1985, the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) applied to the Public Service Staff Relations Board (PSSRB) to have the contracted teachers supplied by Seradep Incorporated at Cowansville (Quebec) declared employees of the Federal Government and recognized as members of the Educational Group. In July 1987, when the contract with Seradep expired a similar contract was implemented with Econosult Incorporated and the legal process continued.

According to the Facts of Proceedings (pp. 5-6 of 29) in reaching its decision the PSSRB adopted the view that in the context of labour relations the "substance" rather than the "form" of the relationship had to be examined. After applying common-law tests[27] used to determine if an employer-employee relationship existed, the PSSRB was of the opinion that the evidence revealed that Econosult (contractor) *"played a marginal role in the work-life of CCEs"* (p. 6 of 29). The PSSRB noted five significant facts:

1. several teachers had been continually employed even if the contractor had been changed twice. CSC was the consistent factor for these individuals;
2. CSC had a say in who the contractor hired;
3. under the contract's financial arrangements, CSC effectively controlled the salaries of CCEs;
4. CSC was involved in the performance evaluation of CCEs; and
5. CCEs were fully integrated into the institution's operations, worked side by side with the public service educators and performed identical functions.

The PSSRB concluded that *the relationship of the CCEs with CSC, their integration into operations, the nature of their work, the method of determining salaries, and similarity of work to CSC teachers contributed to establishing an employer-employee*

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[26] A publication in both official languages, issued three times a year, by the Correctional Research Division, Department of Justice, Ottawa.

[27] Control; ownership of tools; risks of profit and loss; organization and integration; who hired, dismissed or disciplined the CCEs; who the CCEs perceived to be their employer; and whether there was intention to create an employer-employee relationship.

*relationship between CSC and CCEs;* and ruled to grant the PSAC application. The CCEs were determined to be included in the teaching group bargaining unit and CSC was ordered to check off union dues for them.

The Canadian government immediately took the matter to the Federal Court of Appeal (*Canada (Attorney General) v. Public Service Alliance of Canada),* who reversed the decision and ruled (Federal Court of Appeal, [1989] 2 FC 633) that *there was no employer-employee relationship between CSC and CCEs.* This ruling was based upon the distinction having to be made between the public and private sectors. The public sector is governed by specific and rigid regulations[28] and the Public Service Commission alone has the authority to staff public service positions created by the Treasury Board. Consequently, the PSSRB had exceeded its jurisdiction in this case.

However, the decision had not been unanimous. The dissenting judge held that conditions were practically the same for both groups of teachers and that the PSSRB had the obligation to determine who are employees under the law as the regulating Acts have different objectives and nothing in the legislation prevents a person to be considered to be like an employee without having the status of a member of the public service. Having weighted the facts, the PSSRB had determined the status of the CCEs and he saw no grounds to interfere with the decision. This split gave reason for appeal.

The PSAC appealed to the Federal Court of Appeal decision to the Supreme Court of Canada (*Public Service Alliance of Canada v. Her Majesty The Queen represented by the Attorney General of Canada and Econosult Inc. (Mis en cause) (File 21393, May 22, 1990).* Using the "pragmatic and functional approach" (p. 2 of 29) the judges reviewed the case and the construction of its provisions and concluded that Parliament did not intent to confer jurisdiction to the PSSRB with respect to the labour relations of employees who are not members of the Public Service; therefore, the appeal was dismissed (March 21, 1991).

The debate was over. The PSAC had lost its chance to intervene on behalf of CCEs, and the CCEs had lost the political support they needed. Privatization had reduced them in status. They did not realize how this would affect their work relations from then on.

New recruits would not be told of this early process of resistance. They would have to gradually experience the demarcation of status to fully realize it; and when they would start questioning its effects they would be faced with the ultimatum to conform or leave. The ultimatum did not leave room to resist the containment and control issues manifested in the differentiation of activities of the controlees; or to address their concerns of efficiency. Uncritical conformity with tradition and with the structural properties of hierarchies would remain the features of the bureaucracies of prisons and their schools.

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[28] The Public Service Staff Relations Act and the Public Service Employment Act were both enacted in 1970.

**Company X**

Company X is a Canadian-owned, federally incorporated company (1989) from Kingston (Ontario Region) providing educational services to CSC. By 1990[29], Company X's institutional affiliations had grown and when regional contracts replaced institutional ones, the management systematically expanded its operations through other regions[30]. The contract was for the performance of a service and Company X was engaged as an independent contractor for the sole purpose of providing this service: to hire teachers and supervise them.

Between 1989 - 2004, Company X has gradually developed and maintained its federal prison monopoly as a supplier of accredited teachers in the Atlantic, Ontario, and Prairie regions. In September 1994, Company X, Prairie Division[31] became the sole purveyor of CCEs for the federal penitentiaries of the Prairie Region.

As human instruments, the CCEs are essential to the viability of the CEP and to the mandate of the CSC; yet in general, they were ignorant of the political processes making their employment possible. Prior to employment, they are likely to think that teaching in prison is the same as in public schools. They have no idea of what awaits them because there is no history of the correctional education and of the CCEs, as a group or profession.

The history of Canadian prisons reflects changing ideologies and political interests carried through policy-making activities implemented in the bureaucratic setting of a total institution. However, the bureaucratic structure and correctional priorities resulted in various institutional contradictions subverting the value of the CEP when "educational practices become caught between the facticity and validity of law" (Arlow 1979, in Barrette 1999a) and when education is reduced to Literacy for economic and practical reasons. In addition, the effects of these tensions can affect individuals when they are internalized. The caring and abolitionist manifestations expressed by the participants are indicative of a deeper radical change resulting from agonistic conflicts.

## III. Contracting out, Privatization and the Roots of Radicalism

Contracting out refers to the practice of having public services, which a government unit has to provide to its citizens, supplied by either another governmental jurisdiction or by private (profit or non-profit) organizations instead of delivering the service through the government's unit own personnel.

Arguments in favour of contracting out public services come from the economic and neo-classical schools of thoughts. The academic literature of public choice theorists used the language and methods of economics to examine public bureaucracies and public service delivery so their arguments are similar and have been influential in convincing

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29 Informant 21, telephone conversation, March 13, 2000

30 Web site http:// (name deleted).ca; July 24, 2001.

31 Regional contract, September 1994

politicians, public administrators and laymen to adopt privatization. However, another group concentrated on analysing the nature of the goods and services and the ways by which they were supplied while de-emphasizing the concern for voting. These scholars used a neoclassical framework and proposed that if the competitive market place produced efficient foods and services; monopolies, whether public or private, tended towards inefficiency and unresponsiveness.

According to this view and since most programs and services are service monopolies, the personnel are likely to behave in ways that advance self-interests at the expense of efficiency and consumers/citizens. This is why William A. Niskanen (1971) amongst others has been a proponent of encouraging governments to explore alternative methods of service delivery giving the consumers/citizens a choice among various agents. *However, in the context of total institutions this approach is useless because the consumers/prisoners have lost the right to make this choice.*

In the current application of privatization, public services purchases services from a private company by means of a contract. The service is paid for by the taxpayers through a government unit who purchases the service from a private source through a process of bidding and negotiations thereby developing quasi-market conditions and achieving a politically desirable degree of competition. The compelling reasons to endorse privatization are the lowering of government costs and the expected outcome that competition will provide better quality services for the price paid. Furthermore, De Hoog's endorsement (1984:6) of Hirshman's initial assessment (1970) that "the contract relationship has a major advantage over usual methods; it allows for both exit and voice mechanisms to be activated in the event that the service quality declines or does not meet the contract's specifications" brings specification that this applies "only between the contracting parties."

In the context of Canadian Correctional Education, CSC *contracts only the hiring and administration of teachers* to a private contractor and not the entire educational enterprise as it retains control of the budget, curriculum, materials, space and decision making and overall planning. Supposedly, the threat of contracting with a different supplier ensures that the provider is efficient and responsive to the needs, demands, and suggestions of the contracting representatives because of the profit motive and desire to stay in business. This theoretically motivates the contractor to provide the best quality teachers (training, experience, competence) for the maximum contract money while minimizing his own cost.

Furthermore, substituting short-term profit motives for budget maximization and monopoly building ensures growth in general and in the long run. Economies are realized through reduction of overhead, start-up costs and personnel by spreading resources over larger numbers of units or to other agencies by contracting for specialized expertise. In addition, personnel costs are further reduced by avoiding unions and other forms of public personnel controls. Ultimately, greater flexibility in the use of personnel is achieved without much investment or commitment (short-term employment, part-time, substituting).

So far the government literature on the benefits of contracting out has failed to address some real issues. First, institutional research documents the cost of education as a whole, per unit, and in terms of how many students in/out. It does not measure quality, progress and achievement. Second, the service contracted out is the hiring/supervision of teachers and no one has compared that cost to public services costs for the same function. Studies on costs comparisons would require measuring all costs associated with each alternative service delivery such as equipment, maintenance, capital expenditures, and full fringe benefits packages. Other costs overlooked include cost associated with contracting out which can be underestimated: research and proposals; administration costs of determining, negotiating, awarding, writing and monitoring contracts. These are difficult to measure accurately or not at all.

Single service contracting has hardly been researched by the academia and there is a lack of information about the relative advantages and disadvantages of public versus private contractors. At this time, it is impossible to assert that privatization has resulted in providing both a better and less costly service and education because there are no studies comparing the current in-prison education quality and costs with those of public adult education.

Compounding the difficulties of research about the impact of privatization upon correctional education are the necessities to make inter-jurisdictional comparisons, a usual method of research complicated by the fact that three CSC regional contracts (federal) were negotiated to apply over eight provinces with their distinct Ministries of Education. These gaps in the Canadian contracting and education literature are reminders that government contracting still requires further exploration to improve understanding of the contracting process and its many outcomes if it is to be of use to practitioners and elected officials and also to citizens who might find themselves affected or involved in the relationship.

The relationship between bureaucrats, contractor and contracted personnel is fraught with discrepancies undermining the façade of presented in the official descriptions of the relationships. At the top levels, the correctional informants described the relationship as businesslike while the contracting informants ranked it as a more egalitarian and friendly partnership. Apparently, there is a long-standing legal resentment between the bureaucrats and the contractor, and it affects the working conditions and relationships with the contracted personnel who are only given minimal information about the nature of the contract. Consequently, in daily practice they are more likely to feel the cool, distant, hostile and even antagonistic attitudes and behaviours of the rank and file threatened by their presence and to feel betrayed and disappointed in their relationship with their employer.

After reading the chapters documenting the experience of the participants, readers should appreciate the fact that *those who engaged themselves to teach in the federal penitentiaries of the Prairie region actually faced a more difficult situation than they had originally expected and bargained for*. First, they faced the politics of privatization and its practices. Second, they entered a highly bureaucratized institution. Third, the multi-dimensional experience led to a crisis of integrity and to life altering choices reflected in abolitionist expressions, an unexpected radical outcome.

The word radical is from a Latin word that meaning, "root." Radicalism means going to the roots of the matter and to the roots of the spirit; so a radical individual is one who searches for meaning and affirms community; rather than an extremist willing to eradicate all and everyone. Becoming radical demands to look back and reflect on our own life and it is a journey for people who hunger for meaning and for making sense of daily reality: "[T]he more one realistically construes self-interest, the more one is involved in relationships with others…the more conflicts of interest or of character and circumstances will arise" (Crick in Chambers 2003: 11).

A realist social knowledge born out of experience with its many trials and errors; knocks, and blows; rather than from romantic idealism, can result in a pragmatic and self-centered approach to the world ensuring only self-preservation. However, there is an alternative since all social knowledge is experiential in being accrued by dealing with others around life's everyday demands.

Social knowledge or practical wisdom (phronesis) is based on the hard lessons of life experiences is essential for a good parent, a mentor, or leader. Social knowledge fosters politicalness[32] by harnessing passions, drives, self-interest, and élan in radical citizenship. Gradually, the impossibility of the CCEs' resocialization or prisonization became evident as the rationale of resistance revealed itself in three ways.

First, the attempts to adapt to the environment and to meet the expectations of the bureaucrats forced the CCEs to gain a certain familiarity with both bureaucracy and the prison. Their position as outsiders made them much more vulnerable to the encompassing power of the prison than they anticipated. However, their previous socialization played a role in how they respond to the pressures exercised by privatization and prison and their ideologies. It was the clash between these new and pre-established ideologies which provide the moral dilemmas fostering individual change from acceptance of privatization and prison could to a critical and abolitionist stance which they could reasonably justify.

Second, when the CCEs attempted to adjust themselves to the institutions and to cope with a loss of status amplified by privatization this lead institutional and corporate administrators with the impression of compliance and prisonization. Yet, when asked about their explanation for retention the CCEs were more pragmatically motivated by personal interests than by institutional ideological beliefs.

Third, in the privacy of their classroom, CCEs apparently manifested an emotional resistance to the influences of prison and the change appeared sufficient for them to remain. Meanwhile, in the rest of the prison they became increasingly guarded as they became acutely aware of the danger they were exposing themselves to. This meant that all dimensions of the prison experience had not been clarified and that the moral clash had still not been resolved. It did not mean that the participants had abandoned the fight; after all they had volunteered to participate in this study and to speak out so they were taking a risk. It meant that they needed support and assistance in furthering inquiry of what appeared to be an interesting interface between the real and the imaginary with at one point, one becoming the other.

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[32] Aristotle's defines politics as the capacity to gather with others to converse, plan, act and reflect for the well-being of the people as a whole. Radically considered politicality is a birthright: 'to be able (power) couples with to relate with affinity with others (love)'.

# CHAPTER 5

# THE DOCUMENTED EXPERIENCE of CCES (1994 - 2000)

This chapter reports the findings, the demographics patterns and the patterns of consensus and conflict established by the 76 contracted correctional educators (CCEs) who worked and left their employment in the Prairie Region of the Correctional Services of Canada (CSC), under the regional contract of Company X, Prairie Division, between September 1, 1994-June 2, 2000. The data and analysis serve as background information for the experience of the participants who will speak of their lived-experiences in the following chapters.

Up to now, the CCEs were unknown to researchers. The demographic profile documents the kind of professional likely to enter the prison and indicated trends in selection: age and gender biases and a lack of trained adult educators. Their characteristics challenge the popular belief that those who enter the prison are professional misfits because they clearly succeeded in the professional mainstream. Furthermore, accusations that these educators are not operating "real schools" or providing " real education" (*24 hours*, CBC, September 10, 1998) was not grounded in their lack of credentials nor in their willingness to try. Actually, it appears to be quite the opposite.

It is important to emphasize that it was easier to establish the key patterns that challenge common assumptions about teachers in prisons than it was to speculate on the causes for those patterns. A detailed description of the methodology for this chapter was already described in Chapter Three. However, I wish to point out that this chapter also suggests causal explanations that draw on functional and consequential assumptions or on historically-intentioned assumptions. In the case of consequential claims I can, at best, only suggest possible or probable explanations for the patterns based on the best evidence available. Further research is most certainly required before attaching more definitive claims to these conclusions. In the case of my intentional claims I am suggesting that the causal explanation is supported for good reasons because evidence from the various files support the claim. For example, a file might contain a letter from a former employee or a notation from the employer who writes that a particular event happened or decision was made for a particular reason. In the intentional claim it is the file which provides the evidence for the "cause" of a particular action. It is also important to emphasize that I try to suggest causation for a particular pattern to highlight that future research should be done on this topic before any strong conclusion are reached or actions taken. Furthermore, the chapter's findings and insights intend to alert the reader about key issues that are addressed in later chapters when dealing with the employees who stayed and the conflicts they endure which tempt them to quit. Some texts advanced key explanations, but the patterns may have resulted from many factors. These factors interact in more complex, differentiated, and inconclusive ways than I could have possibly summarized here. More research into the causal factors is required.

## Challenging the Status Quo

The official explanations of the prison administrators and of Company X for departures were that these individuals "couldn't adjust," "couldn't cut it," or were "unsuitable." Yet, originally, all of these individuals were selected as suitable enough to hire. Therefore, this could indicate poor selection and judgement on the part of Company X's administrators. Maybe, what looked good on paper was not so good in practice. Or, it could be that the explanations were not appropriate or accurate.

Table 3 shows that while 11 employees had left to join the federal or provincial penal systems, others left for a variety of reasons and could be considered normal exits. They could have occurred anywhere and in any woman's life.

**Table 3: CCEs who left (1994 - 2000)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Step in | | 11 |
| Normal exits | Self-employment | 1 |
| | Relocation | 4 |
| | Pregnancy | 2 |
| | Sickness | 4 |
| | Contract restructuring | 2 |
| Particular exits | Dismissal | 19 |
| | Terminated (no reason given) | 12 |
| Undocumented | | 21 |
| | **Total** | **76** |

Other exits were particular to the prison. CCEs were forced to leave[33] by the Institutions or by the contractor. More puzzling were the twelve who quit without specifying a reason, and the 21 undocumented[34] files. The departures could be questioned. What factors underscored their departure?

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33 Indicated by such words as fired, circumstances, security, let go or they were confirmed by the Company X's representative, June 2nd, 2000.

34 This high rate of undocumented files is difficult to justify because either the document was never provided or it was not put on file. My own file, leads me to believe that certain documents may never make it to the file. My resignation letter was nowhere to be found; yet, I had faxed it to the VP. Legally, all files should contain a Record of Employment (ROE) and copies must be retained (Service Canada – Employment Insurance, IN-066-02).

## I. Challenging Policy, Procedures and Institutional Structures

### Privatization in the Prairie Region

Company X started its activities in the Prairie region[35] in 1991 at the Edmonton Institution (Max), in Edmonton, Alberta. In 1992, operations extended to Bowden Institution (Med), Bowden, Alberta; and in 1994, to the Regional Psychiatric Centre (RPC) (Max), Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. In September 1994, CSC implemented a three-year regional contract. Consequently, eight institutions were then contracted out to Company X, Prairie division. This administrative move established Company X as the indisputable educational service provider and concretized a preferred relationship.

Subsequently, new institutions were automatically added to the contract: Edmonton Institution for Women (EIFW) (Multi), and the Ochimaw Ochi Healing Lodge (Min), Maple Creek, Saskatchewan, in September 1995; Grande Cache Institution (Med), Grande Cache, Alberta, in January, 1997; and Greerson Center (Min), Edmonton, Alberta, in 1997. This corporate growth confirmed the monopoly of Company X in providing educators to federal correctional settings. The contract was renewed September 1, 1997 and was due for renewal in 2000.

The only exception to the regional contract was Pe Sasketew, the Healing Lodge, in Hobbema, Alberta (1998). Built on Reserve, to meet the specific needs of Native male prisoners, this institution was the first to be put under the operational jurisdiction of the local Community Advisory Committee (October 1999)[36]. This transfer of operational authority to a Native community was "a step in empowering Native justice" said Commissioner Ingstrup, (Speech at Native Justice Conference, Edmonton, AB. October 21, 1999). Consequently, educational contracting could not be imposed and Pe Sasketew opted for a more culturally relevant provider.

## II. The Findings

The compilation of the employment files provided the basic information reported in each category of the demographic findings (II A) and in the findings related to privatized employment (II B). During this process, action patterns (II C) started to emerge.

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[35] CSC uses the term Prairie region in reference to its operations in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta; while Company X uses the term Prairie division. Both are established on a similar administrative structure even if Company X has a reduced bureaucracy.

[36] This political decision has since been applied to Ochimaw Ochi, the Healing Lodge for Women (2000) located on the Nakanet Reserve near Maple Creek, Saskatchewan.

## A. Demographic Findings

The following demographics allow the profiling of the kind of professional likely to be hired and to leave. Additionally, certain categories also illustrate the contractor's trends in selection.

### 1. Personal demographics

#### Sex[37]

Twenty males and 56 females had left, a sex ratio of almost 1:3. There are two possible interpretations for this ratio: [1] women might be three times as likely to leave or [2] this ratio indicates hiring practices favouring females. Either way, one could argue that without actual figures of employment or knowing the number of submitted applications, a hiring gender bias argument is weakened in spite of my observation of the contrary.

Overall, nine Teacher-Coordinators[38] (TCs) were females and six were males (ratio 3:2). The sex of the TC appeared relevant to internal patterns of control and conflicts. First, the corporate objectives were more closely endorsed and invoked by the female TCs (9x) than by the males (2x) for legitimizing conflicts with the CCEs of either sex. On the other hand, male TCs invoked role invested power and personality clashes in nine separate occurrences while the females did not. Second, female and male TCs interpreted differently the unspecified norms of proper conduct, deportment and grooming applied to women. Women, seemed overly concerned with "how it appears;" and therefore were a lot more critical and personal (6x) in their judgement of other women than men were. However, six impartial exceptions were found about conduct and what was deemed "professionally" appropriate. These related to security measures or practices.

Another source of conflict was found in 20 incidences of divergence over educational philosophy and management. While two male TCs were recorded as having entered into conflict by "voicing open opposition" to Company X and/or to their Chiefs of Education (COEs); three female TCs were administratively written up for being "found lacking in their interpretation of corporate and correctional objectives." Only one exception was found: a female TC conflicted with both her COE and Company X. She protested against one and ignored lines of reporting with the other (1995). She contested corporate policies (1995) and used them to her benefit (1997) before she quit (1998). A hand-written annotation across her file labelled her "a feminist."

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[37] I use the word sex to indicate a biological division between male and female rather than gender which I treat as a cultural notion.

[38] Over time, Company X used terms like Senior-Teacher, Master-Teacher and Teacher-Coordinator. The remaining term in 2000 was Teacher-Coordinator (TC) to define the administrative role at the site.

## Age

Age was gathered from the birthdates provided on the application for health benefits. Table 4 details the findings.

At the time of hiring, age ranged from 24-59 and Support staff was generally younger than Teaching staff.

**Table 4: CCEs' Age by Category and Sex.**

| Category | Sex | Age average |
|---|---|---|
| Support staff/TAs | 10 females | 30.5 |
| | 2 males | 39.5 |
| Teachers | 40 females | 41.6 |
| | 15 males | 34.5 |
| Undocumented | 9 females | |

Age indicates a predominance of mature personnel; most particularly, mature females. Although several explanations might account for this selection, the corporate overall assumption appeared to be that previous socialization as professionals would advantage the employer and protects the corporate status quo in eight exemplary generalizations inferred from the files and their documentation. First, over half the files contained evidence that the employer maximized corporate profit margins by hiring middle-aged and retired teachers at its private salary scale while simultaneously renegotiating its correctional contract (in 1994, 1996, 1997, 2000) for services based upon their professional qualifications, expertise and experience in teaching. Second, the contractual agreement presented to older teachers referred and appealed to their more righteous and conservative social and political beliefs by justifying the entrepreneurial and educational aims with correctional claims and institutional references which I demonstrated could not sustain educational (Barrette 1998c; 1999a), rehabilitative (Barrette 1998d; 1999a; b) or legal (Barrette 2002a; b) investigations. Third, seven files indicated that older teachers had more professional reputation invested and were careful to protect themselves, thus they deferred to authority and were easier to control and silence. Fourth, no older and retired teachers demanded promotion, further training and professional development leading into new or yet, inexistent corporate career paths. Fifth, overall older and retired teachers have less opportunity for initial entry or for re-entry in the provincial public systems, so ageism applied to their hiring works to their advantage as much as in the contractor's because it can be logically defended as "age as an indicator of maturity and stability." Sixth, three files exemplified that older teachers have different health issues; when these flare, the CCEs became "risks to security" and could be rationally dismissed as "unsuitable" to the environment. Seventh, older teachers who failed to conform choose "retirement" over the professional embarrassment of being fired. Thereby, the likelihood of corporate and institutional investigation, exposure and litigation was reduced. Eight, older teachers were less likely to question and demand change in the employer-employee-prison relationship.

### Marital status

Forty-seven files contained documentation for taxation and this facilitated the elaboration of the marital and financial situation of the CCEs. Marital status was inferred and confirmed from benefits applications and taxation forms which also correlated the obligations of the wage-earner.

Overall, the employer appears to have selected individuals who have enduring emotional relationships and social stability with the economic support that they entail.

**Table 5: Marital Status**

| | |
|---|---|
| Married | 32 |
| Single | 21 |
| C/L | 15 |
| Divorced | 4 |
| Separated | 1 |
| Undocumented | 4 |
| **Total** | 76 |

While marital status may be considered an indication of stability and an adherence to societal norms, the number of years in a common-law relationship also indicated such stability. On the other hand, the high number of singles might indicate alternative lifestyles, like common-law or divorced relationships, or a desire for privacy when financially independent. Given that we cannot determine whether these people were living alone or in a relationship based upon this category any speculation is dubious. Even so, divorced is a legal status and does not necessarily correlate with affective or economic status.

Marital status did not appear to affect distribution at the sites. However, according to administrative correspondence, it did influence four incidences of conflicts at three different sites. At one site, a note from a TC on a CCE's file indicated that the husband "forbid his wife" to return after she received a personal note from a prisoner. The CCE was dismissed as "unsuitable" even if there was no evidence of impropriety on her part. At the same site, another husband "interfered" between his wife and a teacher who had written a letter of complaints to Company X about her. As the complainant "reported" him, his wife was immediately dismissed.

At the second site, a private relationship between a single CCE and her [married] TC degenerated privately and professionally and resulted in her getting fired for "security reasons." Correspondence from the TC to the VP indicated that he "felt he has to protect himself" against her. He further expressed "relief at having let her go" citing "her vulnerability and emotional instability." A co-worker had supported her during the ordeal and had attempted to mediate the professional conflict between them. After her firing, he "reached mutual agreement" with the TC to leave; but his file still indicated "not a good fit" as the administrative reason for his departure. Finally, at the last site, when on-site conflict emerged between the wives of two couples who worked in the prison, the wife in the employ of Company X was the one fired without arbitration.

### Dependents

Seventeen CCEs were self-supporting. But, 30 were financially responsible for a total of 67 dependents, ranging from one to five dependents per household, including spouses, children and even grandchildren. Women were the primary wage earners in 42 of the 47 households and were more likely to carry financial obligations for themselves, their spouse, their children and grandchildren. Four of the five men supported traditional families as primary wage earners; there was no indication that any of them supported extended families.

Because they have dependents, the income of CCEs as primary wage earners and their employment security and benefits were important to the quality of life of their family unit. Furthermore, the effects of working conditions at the site affecting individual change may be noticed first by those most closely related. Alternatively, having to support a family could affect the longevity of employment, and vice versa.

The fact that employees were primarily middle-aged women and the primary wage earners for dependents also raises a series of questions about the specific and differential effects of privatization on the economic security and insecurity of these women. If these women were looking to secure their pension return, the current income and lack of pension benefits surely undermined this goal. Unless they had some other means of income or had already secured their retirement, their future was precarious.

## 2. Professional demographics

The best documented files included resumes and copies of the Teaching Certificates and/or university transcripts. These later documentations appear to have been voluntary as they appeared in a few files only.

### Qualifications

"Are you a real teacher?" the students asked the CCEs. According to the files, 57 CCEs could respond affirmatively. Each province regulates the accreditation of its teachers. For example, in Alberta, a Bachelor of Education is the basic criteria for teacher interim accreditation followed by two years of evaluated teaching. Failure to complete, nullifies the temporary accreditation even if the degree granted remains. For teachers who have been permanently certified they remain certified[39]. Only the provincial Minister of Education can revoke a Permanent Certification and doing so is a sanction.

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[39] In 2000, questions of professional development raised the issue of re-qualifying every five years to meet the rapidly changing demands of knowledge and technology. This move would disqualify a large number of non-practitioning teachers.

**Table 6: Levels and Variety of Credentials**

| **Certificate/Dipl** | **Undergraduate** | **Graduate** | **Post-** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Life Skills | **BEd** Unspecified | **Med** Unspecified | |
| *In corrections* | Early Child | | |
| | Elementary | | |
| Soc. Work (D) | Secondary | | |
| | Special Ed. | Special Ed. | |
| | Guidance/Couns. | Guidance | |
| | Indian Ed | | |
| | Soc. Studies | | |
| | Business | | |
| | English | | |
| | Industrial Ed | | |
| | Technologies | | |
| | Native St | | |
| | Math | | |
| | Sciences | Sciences | |
| | French | | |
| | ESL | | |
| | Adult Ed | Adult Ed | |
| | | Intercultural Ed | |
| | | Ed. Psych | |
| | | In progress | |
| | **BFA** | | |
| | **BA General** | **MA** | |
| | Psychology | Psychology | **PhD** |
| | Sociology | | |
| | Recreation | | |
| | Music | | |
| | Behaviour Sc. | | |
| | Political Sc. | | |
| | Classics | | |
| | Religion | | |
| | Sciences | | |
| | English | English 1 | |
| | Linguistic/Cree | | |
| | Phonics | | |
| | Commerce | | |
| | Media | | |
| | BSc | | |
| *Sub-total* 7 | | | |
| **Entrepreneurs** | | | |
| **Total** | 72 | 29 | 1 |

Table 6 documents the diversity of training and expertise of the recruited CCEs. The numbers do not add up for two reasons: [1] I took the 12 support employees from this measurement and [2] some of those charged with instruction could have more than one degree. Furthermore, 11 files lacked application, resume or professional documentation of any kind. The lack of documentation and oversight signalled a serious lack of administrative attention to file documentation. The failure to confirm and document professional status during administrative transfers impact on the administrative function and is indicative of a changing corporate structure nullifying previous professional statuses. These CCEs would have had to adapt to privatization and to accept its financial and professional constraints until they left.

Overall, 65 CCEs had multiple degrees and extensive credentials and experience. At the undergraduate level, 57 confirmations of Elementary and/or Secondary Education and diverse teaching specializations were found. The level of credentials of CCEs was documented by the 29 graduate and the one post-graduate degree documented. Masters' degrees were found in 12 various disciplines, but only two were in Adult Education; one was in Inter-cultural Education; and three were in Psychology. The presence of a PhD graduate in Psychology first appeared to confirm the pattern of lifelong education adopted by the recruits; however, a closer look revealed that at 28 years old, this was the second youngest CCE hired and her brief length of service indicated that correctional education had not been a viable career choice. Only two CCEs had specialized in Adult Education. In the Bachelor of Arts, 23 CCEs were specialized in the Humanities; four in the Social Sciences, and five in pure Sciences before completing Education degrees.

Given that most CCEs lacked adult education specialization and that Federal penitentiaries house a segment of population over the age of 18, there is questionable validity in the CSC and Company X's claims to offer adult education programs. Teachers' credentials were overwhelmingly oriented to working with children. Learner diversity affects classroom interactions and outcomes; but the CCEs' professional formation for meeting the needs of the various learners and diverse ethnicities contained in prisons concentrated on ESL and Special Education, with some in Education Psychology; all based upon the assumptions of child development and learning rather than on andragogy and life-span psychology. If the teachers have little knowledge of andragogy and of the workings of their environment how can they adequately practice? Or advocate for the needs of adult learners, for the necessity of prison education, or for their own needs as educators? In this, correctional education delivery contributes to *infantilize* adult learners by assuming that they are like children.

Furthermore, the CCEs' preparation for the environment of prison appears seriously underrated. The nature of prison instruction is unique. Yet, CCEs were ignorant of the specifics of teaching in prison settings. Only one teacher had previous experience in correctional setting prior to becoming a teacher and a CCE; and only one CCE obtained a Certificate in Corrections, after employment. Given an absence of adequate and relevant specialization specific for the appropriate education of prisoners, it is reasonable to expect that extensive preparation of CCEs by corrections authorities might overcome this professional preparation deficit. However the CCEs were not blank slates, they were already socialized into the teaching profession and its practice.

The seven recruits who defined themselves as business owners or consultants represented the entrepreneurs in the group of CCEs. While business owners continued to operate their various businesses on the outside, those who defined themselves as consultants now engaged themselves on a contractual basis after retiring from previous forms of employment.

## Prior teaching experience

**Table 7: Prior Teaching Experience of CCEs**

| | *None* | *-2 yrs* | *2 -10 yrs* | *11-15 yrs* | *17-23 yrs* | *30-35 yrs* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Teachers | 10 | 6 | 14 | 5 | 6 | 3 | **64** |
| Others | | | | | | | **10** |
| Undocumented | | | | | | | **10** |

Of the 64 CCEs hired, ten had no prior experience of teaching and six had less than two years. These 16 had Interim Certification and it would be reasonable to say that they expected to complete the requirements for their Permanent Certification because Interim Certification is only a temporary professional measure. Failing to complete the requirements for Permanent Certification jeopardizes a teacher's career.

As previously mentioned, teacher certification is a provincial responsibility under the authority of the Minister of Learning. In Alberta, teachers intending to pursue a teaching career need to obtain Permanent Certification by following a process and requirements outlined by the Professional Development and Certification Branch of the Department of Learning (ATA 2001: 29). Of the 16 teachers with less than two years experience, only one requested evidence of services provided to secure the next level of certification.

Teaching in the prison could not be used by the Alberta Teacher Qualifications Services to establish placement as Company X and the prison schools were not registered with the Department of Education (letter May14, 1997). Yet, after pursuing the issue of Certification with Company X (letter September 1997), this teacher obtained an Alberta Permanent Professional Certification Recommendation Form and a letter (November 10, 1997) addressed to the provincial Certification Supervisor by [name deleted], a Chief of Education and Training, who was the designated signing officer for CSC (Alberta). This self-contradictory process did not make sense and could indicate that the practice was a possible bureaucratic remnant of the pre-contract conditions. Nevertheless, due to her persistence and force of argument, the teacher obtained her Permanent certification (December, 1997) and regained the two years for her professional placement.

The above made me wonder what happened to the other 15 CCEs. Had they originally expected to seek the same certification? Did they quit the teaching profession? Or did they forgo their recommendation, especially if they left on bad terms with Company X and/or CSC? There was nothing in their files addressing these possibilities and short of asking them, we will never know what they lost. However, there was an apparent lack of information available to these teachers, potentially reducing their professional opportunities and salaries in education. Overcoming, the financial loss would be hard to regroup in educational settings based upon this precedent.

In those with permanent certification, professional experience was impressive; 48 CCEs had experience ranging from 2 to 35 years. This left another ten with experience in educational setting which did not require degrees: teaching assistants and learning assistants but to my surprise even, day care and kindergarten workers. Again the emphasis was on their experience with very young children rather than with adult learners. Finally, 11 files were undocumented[40].

The realization of a whole range of experiences posed questions. While some were retired teachers; others had returned to teaching or entered it after years of working in other fields or raising their families. Therefore, the maturity and various life experiences of teachers were valuable assets and could overcome some of the training deficiencies previously mentioned. It could be said that the ability of Company X to compete for the contract was based upon the expertise and experience of the CCEs whose resumes were included with the proposal. It also allows for Company X to establish its soundness by the fact that it can attract and recruit such a calibre of teachers. On the other hand, the turn around is observably high and it was not surprising that the representative carefully avoided my questions about how many people had been hired each year or since they had come to Alberta. Without that figure it is impossible to really know just how high the turn around was.

Professional status for teachers was acquired through previous academic training and was reinforced by extended years of service. Thus, their leaving could be explained by the fact that their socialization was complete in their role, identity and status. However, in the case of the newly graduated teachers the transition from theory to practice of teaching, (normally expected during the first years of teaching), had not occurred. Yet, there was no evidence that they adjusted to the prison any better than the more experienced teachers.

Just as professional status was replaced by correctional status upon entry, salary was also reduced when hired by Company X. Therefore, there was a loss in social status and in socio-economic status, two major areas of identity. Upon exit, the loss cannot be easily or automatically reversed. This revaluation and devaluation of status is one questionable consequence of privatization, "an arrest to the professional teaching career" extending beyond the present experience of devaluation of service, expertise and experience, to future ones.

### Prior correctional experience

Three individuals had prior correctional experience. Prior to becoming CCEs, one recruit was a correctional officer for four years and a special constable (RCMP) for two; another worked in a Young Offenders Centre for six years and the last one had been a CSC Native Program facilitator for one year. For them, correctional professional status had been gained through previous training and experience in correctional settings. According to their cover letters this prior experience fostered in them a desire to become teachers and to return to the prisons as teachers. Yet, these people quickly left. Why? They would need to be asked; however, this option was unavailable to me. Maybe future research will answer the question.

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[40] As stated previously eleven files had no resumes; but one file contained a copy of an institutional certificate for 17 years of teaching prior to retirement.

### B. Findings Related to Company X's Policy and Procedures

Certain information on files are significant information for evaluating the consequences of privatization and measuring certain losses encountered when teachers move out of the public stream and away from the protection of their provincial professional union.

#### Starting salaries

The full-time salary of Teacher-Assistants (TA) and Assistants (clerical) ranged from $18-21,000; with one exception starting at $28,000. Hired upon the recommendation of the local Chief of Education, she had 4 years of experience with CSC and this might explain why she was hired so far above the scale for Assistants. This huge difference meant she was on par in salary with the teachers. The case may also illustrate the executive power exercised to override policy in hiring personnel.

Teachers' full-time salaries in 1994 ranged between $27-34,000 and half-time teachers were all hired at $14,500. Teachers who had been part of the take-over had their salaries realigned to this scale, so some lost large amounts of income and left within the next year. In 1997, the full-time scale entry-level was raised to $29,000. This means that newcomers were officially on par with teachers who had already been there for over two years. The illusion and actuality of seniority was shattered because there was no indication that the rest of the pay scale had been adjusted.

Teacher-Coordinators' salaries ranged between the basic $36,000 and $48,000. This range is easily explained: the salary includes a responsibility allowance (RA) of $750 per position under their supervision. However, in spite of the statement that salary is based upon year of employment with Company X in correctional setting, other unrelated discrepancies in salary were found to occur frequently.

In the Native Programs beginning salaries were significantly higher at $30-36,000. Another scale was found in Locations such as the Mental Health Units: $36-37,000 and the Segregation Units: $32,000. The higher pay rate may have been justified by the increased risk factors in such settings or by the difficulty of recruiting for these units. Yet, the policy and procedures did not address issues of supply and demand; so the decision appears based on the employer discretion or upon the ability of the employees to bargain a better deal. Nevertheless, in spite of their negotiating skills these CCEs still lost a great deal of income that unionized employment would have secured.

Overall full-time teachers, male and females were paid differently: 22 women compared to five men were hired at salaries below $30,000. In the $32-35000 salary range, only women were hired. At the higher levels ($36-48000), where the TCs were found, ten women and five men were hired, but eight of the women were at the basic $36,000 salary. This suggests a gender bias and a devaluation of women's work.

Another discrepancy was found in five Aboriginal teachers hired at $30-36,000. This discrepancy related to the difficulty of attracting Aboriginal candidates, even when working on-reserve provides the additional incentive of a taxation exemption for Native individuals registered under a Treaty. Furthermore, in providing Native Programs, hiring Aboriginal teachers is an issue of political importance within the prison between the Native Brotherhood and prison management; and consequently, within the school. These politics were accentuated when the Institution is a Healing Lodge, as was evidenced with the loss of the addition of Pe Sasketew to the regional contract.

In spite of all the diversity of hiring practices mentioned previously, I could not help remark that Substitutes were paid a flat rate of $106/day, regardless of sex, race, or where they worked or whom they substituted for.

### Equal opportunity

Treaty and Band numbers or references to Metis status confirmed that nine First Nations and three Metis teachers had been hired. All were females. No evidence of any other visible or invisible minority was found.

## C. Action Patterns

Action patterns were identified interventions during the length of service of CCEs and they became common to each experience.

### Orientation and CSC training

To facilitate the adaptation to the prison and its rules, the Teacher-Coordinator provided an orientation process. Sometimes, this orientation was followed by correctional training courses supposed to address correctional professional development. In practice, training is not mandatory and varied widely because this responsibility is left to each institution.

Of the 76 CCEs who had left, only two had taken every training offered by the institution while another pursued correctional certification from external providers. Training such as Anatomy of the Set-up[41] (2x), Non-violent Intervention (1x),

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[41] In the prison, a "set-up" is defined (Allen and Bosta 1993: 33-34) as a series of steps taken to manipulate individuals and cause them to break regulations. It is a process so subtle that victims rarely realize what is happening until it is too late. Education, life experience or claims of professionalism cannot guarantee protection against it. Once set-up, one is assured of embarrassment or worse; unless one knows how to stop it.

Occupational Safety and Procedures (1x), Cultural Awareness (3x), Offender Management System (5x), and Drug Awareness (1x) had extremely low participation.

Those who took training were located in the same three settings. According to the files, 57 CCEs had not received any relevant training. Consequently, this raises the question as of whether training was offered to CCEs. To my knowledge, only one institution made training mandatory and formally trained its teachers, substitutes and volunteers before entry. This training overlapped in one area with what was available at the other two institutions. The other five sessions were unique in content, magnitude and length and were offered simultaneously to correctional officers of all levels. However, this training was the exception, and it may be concluded that CSC and Company X took for granted that the individual TCs do an adequate orientation and that it is adequate preparation. This approach presumes that TCs have the practical knowledge and fully understand the prison dynamics; and that the CCEs will share these without question. Moreover, by shifting the responsibility of orientation to the TCs, both Company X and CSC could avoid becoming responsible for the safety of contracted personnel. Therefore, it is possible for the authorities to blame CCEs for their lack of informed judgement and to penalize them for it.

CSC Institutions were not the only ones inconsistent in the delivery of security and awareness courses. Company X seemed to support this disparity in the training when documentation revealed that the training and orientation was unpaid time for some CCEs while for others, it was paid.

Only one site provided CCEs with the Offender Management System (OMS)[42] training. The fact that this training became mandatory at this site raised some questions that need explaining: was the management provided by that particular Chief of Education unique? Or, alternatively, was it the exception to a systemic effect? Could it be a way to maximize contract returns by getting CCEs to do more work without paying for it? It also had consequences for the consistency and appropriateness of educational records. If the majority of CCEs were not trained how were the records documented? Who did it? Does it matter? If CCEs believed it was important to validate efforts, progress and achievement of their students, were they feeling empowered by this decision and motivated to do the extra work[43]? Did it promote professional exchanges between CCEs, Case Management Officers and Parole Officers? We cannot know without speaking with these teachers. Suffice it to say here that CCEs' work and working conditions varied in practice much more than the company and manual would lead us to believe.

Another category of training was specific to facilitation skills needed to deliver correctional programs: Breaking Barriers Facilitator Training (4x) and Cog[44] Skills (3x).

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[42] The Offender Management System is an electronic system for documenting the sentence management of inmates.

[43] Under the contract this practice is vaguely justified under "other duties."

[44] Cog Skills aims to develop pro-social behaviours and is delivered by correctional staff.

Of the seven individuals who had been trained two came from CSC to Company X and five had left Company X to go to CSC. Therefore it would appear that those considering entering the CSC stream would first attempt to familiarize themselves with the correctional treatment strategies.

There was a final category of training specific to teachers called Cognet. This cognitive approach to teaching was promoted by Bea Fisher (Education Officer, Correctional Programs, CSC and Master of Education) as the newest method to "correctionalize education, to make it fit the prison" (Literacy 2000 Conference, May 1st, 2000). Company X regional management had openly supported this initiative and consequently some CCEs had been trained in it before May 2000, when it was presented as the new norm.

At the Conference, during and after the information session, eight attending CCEs voiced that they were very opposed to Cognet: they perceived it as demeaning their professional credentials and as forcing them to use a language they considered condescending to their students. They also resented being told how to teach. Some made reference to a colleague who "was let go" after her performance in Cognet was evaluated negatively.

Information on files supported the previously made and above mentioned comments. Twelve CCEs had been trained and departed: nine before 2000 and three in 2000. A CCE disagreed with the Cognet trainer over components of the training and methods and the trainer recommended her dismissal. It was done. Other files containing negative comments or suggestion of dismissal had the same outcome.

The distribution of the 12 Cognet trainees stood out. It centered in Saskatchewan, more precisely upon the Saskatchewan Penitentiary, before gradually extending to the surrounding institutions and eventually, to another province. From 1997, it seems that CCEs were being trained experimentally to justify a future systemic implementation of Cognet.

From a research perspective, this educational experimentation could be construed as ethically questionable because there was no indication of individual informed consent and it did not appear possible for CCEs to refuse this training. Their Cognet training evaluation affected their evaluation and jeopardized their employment. But, from the perspective of the decision of the 1990 Supreme Court of Canada's decision this implementation illustrated the fact that CCEs could be told how to teach and be interfered with, if the CSC trainer was unsatisfied with their performance. By contract, Company X as service provider had to let them go to preserve its interests. Yet, to those unaware of the nature of the CSC-contractor relationship it appears as if Company X failed to protect its interests by allowing another party to decide how teachers should teach and led those who remained to question the contractor's ability to provide them with relevant support; and to question its priorities, and its agenda. Maybe, this is the major drawback of privatization, the position taken by the service provider allows him to discount both employees and education.

### Options

At any point in the service period, the CCEs could change the direction of employment. Three options existed: transfer, stay, or leave.

#### 1. Transfers

Transfers accommodated the needs of a growing organization and employee's choice. They also represent one coping strategy of the CCEs to escape from one environment into another perceived as more favourable to performance or advancement. While 67 employees remained in their original site; eight others opted for transfers. Consequently, seven CCEs worked in two settings and one worked in three. Three features characterized transfers: mobility, commitment to teaching, and opportunity for advancement. Mobility between settings provided lateral transfers and sometimes the incentive of promotion to the position of TC.

However, since there is a built-in gender bias in prison work sex affected transfers. Six females and two males CCEs transferred. While the males CCEs could move only from one men's prison setting to another, the female ones could and did move laterally and upwardly to men's (4x) or women's prison settings (2x). This reflected the policy decision (CSC, 1995) that only women should work in settings providing for incarcerated women.

Three of the eight transfers were lateral transfers and the remainder involved promotions as new institutions were added to the contract. Side-stepping or lateral transfer provided the solution to a CCE's appeal process for redress and was the only exclusion to an administrative request to dismissal. It was also the only joint active intervention on behalf of a CCE by both Company X and CSC who moved her from one setting to another. Another lateral transfer was less successful: the CCE was deemed "unsuitable" by the existing TC and let go within days of arrival.

### Career trajectory

The commitment of CCEs to education in prison and to their employment was revealed in the transfer patterns within their career trajectory. Close examination of the duration of service revealed that the earlier the transfer took place the longer the CCE remained; and inversely, the later the transfer, the shorter the subsequent service lasted.

This pattern can be interpreted in more than one way. First, if the transfer occurred when the CCEs were satisfied in their working relationship, they were likely to be satisfied with their move and to remain unless conditions appear to deteriorate. Second, inversely, if transfer was an attempt to escape dissatisfaction, then the move might not have helped if the policy and practices did not change. Third, the possibility exists that with added responsibilities came a better understanding of the policies and practices governing both correctional education and privatization and this could provoke new awareness and new conflicts that could only be resolved by leaving.

### 2. Opportunity

The realization that career mobility was limited and that employment was precarious under Company X could result in CCEs seeking employment elsewhere in CSC (9x) or with provincial corrections (2x).

This stream transition may be explained by the correctional bureaucratic structure allowing upward mobility. CCEs entered at a higher level of classification than the clerks, program officers and correctional officers with whom they had conflicts; their education and experience allowed them to join the ranks of those appearing to have more decision-making power; it also meant better salary, employment security, and additional benefits, which their level of education and prior kind of socialization has led them to expect. Finally, the move could reveal a greater identification with the prison, its objectives and practices. On the other hand half the people who made the change to corrections were in the younger category of teachers, so the transfer could be a purely economic decision if they had not fully identified themselves with the ideals of education. Or it could indicate that they perceived that they could be more effective in corrections than they were in the classroom. Short of asking them, we can only speculate their reasons for switching career stream.

During my week of archival research, five Company X's employees were hired by CSC. Four were Teacher-Coordinators, one was a CCE. This was unprecedented and surprised the contractor. In the past, leaving to join the correctional stream had occurred randomly; now it suggested a deliberate and strategic raid undermining Company X's assets just as the contract negotiations were to start. But without further evidence or access it is difficult to ascribe motivation or strategies to key players. Further research would help.

So far, the focus has been on the option of transferring within the network or between streams. Transfers within resulted in departures and the outcomes of transferring between the private and the correctional sphere cannot be evaluated because they are outside the limits of this research. The last alternative of the CCEs was to leave.

### 3. Leaving

Three CCEs out of the 56 who had left had the briefest employment periods: one teacher did not return after lunch; one quit the same day; and the last quit after two weeks. There was nothing else mentioned on their files. The Chief of Education (COE) had warned me during my initial entry that some teachers who come in the morning, go out at lunch and never come back. When I recruited teachers, a couple of them never even came in. They had changed their mind.

Mapping the departures indicated an unravelling cyclical pattern in the frequency of departures. Starting with September 1st, when the dates of the regional contract and of the academic year overlapped, the fourth, sixth, ninth and twelfth months had peaks. In the second year, departures clustered in the 13-14th months (September-October) and in the 20-22nd months (April-June). In the interim and afterwards, leaving occurs randomly.

This departure pattern might be indicative that the CCEs had to periodically re-evaluate their options as the reality of a difficult situation set in. But, it ~~may~~ also be partially explained in relation of the practices of the contractor. The probationary evaluation took place at the sixth month and the annual evaluation was in the twelfth month. These evaluations might influence the decision to leave but there were no apparent reasons for the departures in the fourth and ninth month until I overlapped the contract with the public school year. The fourth month was December, a month when public schools hire to replace teachers who won't be returning after the Holidays' break. Similarly, May, the ninth month, sees the rounds of interviews to fill vacancies for the following academic year. Therefore, it could be inferred that CCEs continued to monitor their options in the public system as much if not more than they did with Company X and CSC. And when an opportunity presented itself, they left.

This partial explanation is speculation and suggests reserving judgement until further research can be conducted. However, the fact remains that patterns exist even if cause has not been clearly established between the effects of assessments and the patterns of recruitment in the public system.

## D. Patterns of Conflict

Conflict in the workplace is not a novelty and it arises over what people care about or find themselves unable to act against (Muldoon 1996). In this research conflict illustrated the expected and unexpected difficulties of the CCEs' specific working conditions. Closer examination of the sequence of employment and departures revealed that the 56 CCEs who resigned, were let go, or were without documentation were implicated in documented conflicts. Some of the files were poorly documented and sometimes only an annotation appeared in it; at other times the filing appeared haphazard specially when staff members were put on probation or complained.

Given the size of the group who had left, given the lack of documentation, given the potential sanitation of employees' history and given that other sources documented incidences of conflict, it became important to cross-reference files during the initial analysis process and to reconstruct the sequence of activities at each site in order to extrapolate from the site profile. This reconstruction gave new meanings to the departure of CCEs.

### Incidences of conflict

Thirty-two incidences of conflict were documented involving 56 CCEs. The departures were attributable to six categories of conflicts:

1. alliances and allegiances;
2. conflicts with security measures;
3. conflicts arising from privatization;
4. conflicts of CCEs with correctional staff (outer-group);
5. inner conflicts within the Company X's group (inner-group);
6. ideological conflicts with either or both Company X and CSC.

CCEs could be involved in more than one conflict, simultaneously.

There was no report of incidence of conflict with the inmate group in any of the files in spite of isolated and individual incidents of violence towards teachers. This is a topic of its own discussed later.

### 1. Alliances and allegiance conflicts.

All items of correspondence on files had added significance. They could be attributed to individuals and functions, and interpreted and sequenced as management information, intervention, or solution. Information and names could also be cross-referenced so alliances or coalitions were revealed.

Allegiance benefited survival and furthered advancement in eight occurrences, although only alliance with those who had power to hire or promote appeared to matter. The files clearly indicated that those who entered the correctional stream did it with the support of their Chiefs of Education and those who were promoted were supported by recommendations from their Teacher-Coordinators with the one exception previously mentioned. The opposite was a coalition of seven CCEs attempting to oppose the management at their site. This rendered them suspect to the contractual management and consequently, they suffered the domino effect of systematic elimination. Only one successful attempt at organization was found: a CCEs' petition resulted in the replacement of a TC whom the group had previously nominated for the position.

Cases of conflict suggest abusive and discriminatory practices aiming to protect contractual or individual interests. Covering, denying or minimizing conflicts may explain why some files were incomplete. With closer examination, the defection of CCEs may be better explained.

### 2. Security conflicts

Annotations, e-mails and faxes established that security complaints were taken at face value. Eleven CCEs who got themselves "in trouble" with security requirements were immediately removed from the institutions by the prison authorities and automatically dismissed without further ado. The patterns indicated that females were much more likely to be removed under these conditions (9x) than males (2x) and the nature of the complaints differed.

With the women the reasons had an overtone of sexual impropriety, implying a lack of professionalism and morality in dress, grooming, and behaviours. There was one exception: a CCE brought a knife[45] for a creative math lesson on fractions. For the m[illegible] the reasons were more concretely evidenced by contraband items or substances. However, regardless of the reasons, even when these complaints were unfounded the

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[45] There was no detail about the size or manufacture of the knife. It was disturbing to think and realize that a metal knife would not have been detected during her passage through the metal detectors. If the knife was plastic, this might explain why CSC and the contractor intervened on her behalf and transferred her.

CCEs were sacrificed because as noted in a file, they were "already compromised in the eye of the prison authorities." There was only one exception, the CCE with the knife, who appealed the complaint of her TC and was transferred to another Institution with the agreement of CSC.

The figures of dismissal for security reasons indicated that it is much more difficult for women to work in prison than for men. Although, the female to male ratio of employment was less than 3:1, the security dismissal rate was over 4:1. Furthermore, even in comparing within groups the figures are telling: a ratio of 1:6 for females compared to 1:10 for males. Further verification revealed that 8 out of the 11 people dismissed for security reasons were in a TA or in support position. I would speculate that this could very well indicate an additional vulnerability to subjective criticism built upon gender and credentials, but it requires further research.

Dismissal is not without consequences especially regarding suggested improprieties. In small communities there is a rumour mill. In addition to losing income, one may be subjected to a loss of professional and personal reputation. Consequently, losing one's occupation can make subsequent employment difficult, if not impossible if dismissal implies sexual misconduct or drugs.

### 3. Privatization conflicts

Specific patterns of conflicts to privatization emerged from the files of 12 teachers moving through privatization from the public education system to the new private service system. When Company X obtained its regional contract and offered employment to the previous teachers, many refused their offer and left. Others accepted this offer expecting to maintain their status and seniority or to gain from their prison teaching experience. However, according to reasons for departures, these expectations were not met. First, they felt pushed over by the arrival of new Teacher-Coordinators and new CCEs. Second, the new conditions meant a loss in benefits and salary. Nine of these teachers exited within the first year of their contract and the rest were gone by the end of the second year.

### 4. Outer-group conflicts

Conflicts between CCEs and CSC personnel affected contractual agreements therefore, complaints from CSC were taken at face values and the COEs "desires" were taken seriously.

Evidence showed that the COEs could clearly influence retention of TCs and CCEs alike. At the two sites where the re-alignment of duties occurred, forced changes to staffing followed: three CCEs were given separation compensation and a TC was let go when the COE indicated "a desire for a change in supervision." Other evidence that teachers were let go or encouraged to leave by Company X based upon the preferences of COEs were found crouched individually in terms such as "the COE would prefer; Chief thinks…; COE doubts…"; or more forcefully, "COE requests…". Some of these comments were written by the TCs who were the ones to inform the CCEs of their dismissals. One file indicated that a CCE was bluntly told "[used first name of COE] wants you gone" when more diplomatic words failed her TC.

These comments did not emerge from the files of employees who were fired for misconduct or breach of security; they were found in files where there was no prior indication of wrongdoing. Their presence might therefore indicate that multiple subjective factors, unidentified causes and excuses provided the rationale for dismissing employees. These individuals were not given the opportunity to be reassigned. These people did not appeal the decisions and their cases illustrated the vulnerability of CCEs' employment under the privatized agreement. Again more research is required to validate the exact reasons for dismissal and justify its purpose.

Another source of conflict emerged from the practice of hiring of people who had previously worked for CSC (3x). Oddly, the hiring of a CSC employee while he was still fully employed by CSC posed the ultimate test of conflict of interest revealed by a CSC's ultimatum "to work all shifts or leave." Prudently, the employee left to meet the demands of his correctional duties. Given the strict rules of the Public Service Act (1970), I wondered why Company X hired him in the first place. I never had the chance to discuss this. In the remaining twos, behaviours previously institutionally sanctioned, such as reprimanding co-workers; making decisions without consulting the TCs and questioning decisions of the COEs became unacceptable for contract employees and gave grounds for discharge. Additionally, the files indicated that the supervising TCs felt little authority over these employees who had greater knowledge and understanding of prison dynamics and inner-workings. This exemplified how employees' attitudes and behaviours could conflict simultaneously, with two different sets of interest; and illustrated the fact that enlarged knowledge of operations was one perk of moving into the prison.

Even unrelated inter-personal conflicts were brought into the school. Such personal conflicts (3x) arose from the CSC and Company X practices of hiring family members in the same institution. These "people issues" could arbitrarily justify the agreement to dismiss employees or encourage their termination.

### 5. Inner-group conflicts

Teacher-Coordinators (TCs) fall within the broader definition of contracted correctional educators (CCEs) but their title reflects their additional specific responsibilities. TCs in representing the interests of Company X were primarily responsible for the monitoring of services. Acting as translators between the Chief of Education (COE) and the CCEs they ensure that operations and services are provided at all times; they supervised and evaluated CCEs' performance; they compiled monthly invoices and timesheets; and produced administrative reports. They also counselled CCEs.

Reports of conflicts written by the TCs aimed at justifying decisions and actions. Female TCs were more likely to invoke the "endangerment of Company X's interests" to justify conflicts than were male TCs, who claimed legitimized power. However, all reports also revealed an interest in avoiding self-revelation and self-examination while justifying and executing procedures.

Three sites had the greater numbers of past employees (20, 18 and 16 respectively); while even smaller or more recent sites saw 4 - 6 changes in personnel. In larger sites, the personnel had been more numerous and alliances emerged leading to inner-school conflicts that remained absent from official documentation. Some teachers allied themselves with the TCs and at first prospered. Others teachers attempted to build support for members who were or felt left out, attacked, or harassed: each one of them was subsequently deemed to be in conflict with the TCs, peers, or Company X's corporate orientation. By attempting to support each other, they appeared to suffer the domino effect of systemic elimination culling any opposition to the authority of the TCs. In smaller institutions individuals were singled more easily as the opportunity to gain support was foregone; consequently, they seemed more visibly confrontational. Therefore, they were quicker to leave than in the larger settings where the dynamics were more complicated.

Given the frequency and nature of conflicts in larger settings and the expressed justification for the actions taken, the evaluations of these conflicts are conservative in nature. The TCs were responsible for the evaluation of employees and this process seemed to result in subsequent conflicts for three key reasons. First, when CCEs disagreed with the evaluation they refused to sign them, complained, and left. Second, when the evaluation was positive the CCEs became more confident about their competencies and started acting more independently of their TCs: some of the new initiative meant being reprimanded for "speaking out of turn" or being "out of place." For example, one TC wrote of "being usurped in her authority." Third, if the evaluation referred to the candidate's potential for promotion, to leadership abilities or if performance rated above expectations, the relationship between the TC and the CCE appeared to shortly deteriorate. It appeared that, when CCEs became prison-wise and competent, their expectations raised. While some wanted advancement, others questioned and suggested improvement to operations and administration. Consequently, they appeared to pose a challenge to the local status quo established by incumbents TCs who then seemed to become hyper-critical in order to preserve their authority and position. Simultaneously, when these CCEs questioned and criticized operations or education and sought to change them they also appeared in conflict with the administrators who are charged to see to implementations. Consequently, they became increasingly vulnerable because they now appeared weaker in their allegiance to Company X and more critical of their initial acceptance of the COEs' authority over education. Then, both bureaucracies could be united in suggesting that "prison education might not be for you."

### 6. Ideological conflicts

The process of re-socialization of the CCEs had started with a new designation: the teachers were called broadly "correctional educators." This term has three major implications. First, a correctional designation reinforced the correctional nature of CCEs' work. Second, the designation allowed for symbolic parity with all other personnel involved in rehabilitation by blurring professional training and qualifications. And finally, acceptance of the correctional designation implied acceptance of its inherent values. But, according to transcripts on their files, not all CCEs agreed with this ideology and professional differences also became sources of disagreement.

Reports of "counselling" interventions indicated that there were conflicts between Company X's employees (CCEs-CCEs or CCEs-TCs), with the Chiefs of Education (COEs) or with Company X's representatives and corporate orientation. While the latter could be attributed to diverging teaching philosophies and ideals resolved by quitting; others referred to stressful conditions and even to allegations of unfair practices and harassment in the work place. In following chapters, I will return to these diverging professional ideologies and the ways that those who stayed adapted or resisted them.

## III. Outcomes

### Contractor's Justifications and Silence

A lunch conversation on the last day of my research was the only opportunity I had to ask about certain factors and questions which stood out. [I reported in Chapter 1 that the later refused to participate in a formal interview or discussion of the findings after completion of the analysis.] The VP briefly answered by justifying some of the company's policy and procedures.

1. He explained the predominant hiring of females as the result of teaching being a "biased profession."
2. He recapitulated about how the discrepancy between public and private salaries and benefits reflected certain advantages supposed to outweigh the loss of income and benefits: no fund raising activity; no field trips; a lower teacher-student ratio; no parent-teacher meetings; and no take-home work, correction, or planning. This meant that after the school day is over CCEs could devote their time to their own pursuits. This was perceived as a valuable gain when compared to the workload in the public system. In addition, he mentioned the possibility of entering the CSC stream. The examples he provided appeared to emphasize an uncomplicated change in a career stream. This set of justifications was redolent of my hiring interview.
3. In reference to visible minorities, no handicapped person has ever been hired and this exemption was explained as "preventing a security risk."
4. The lack of file documentation on file was a "result of the take-over." It is not reasonable that an employer would not want to document its files when taking on new personnel.
5. The lack of documentation concerning departures was a consequence of "abrupt departure." This did not explain the missing Records of Employment which are an employer's legal responsibility to complete and provide.

It was agreed that after completing the analysis we would meet to discuss the findings. Even after multiple requests and despite my efforts, this meeting failed to materialize. Based on evidences, this refusal to accept information was not unique.

### Possible Corporate Indifference

The findings and patterns of conflicts reported in sections C and D could not be discussed with Company X. I sent the demographic findings and mentioned that we need to meet to discuss the finding of "disturbing patterns." For almost two years the VP kept this available knowledge at bay. What reason could management have to refuse to improve factors affecting retention? He was too busy, he had emergencies…budget… contracts…meetings…his own deadlines. Was the research irrelevant? Was management indifferent? It is difficult to validate how or why people don't do something; so I cannot speculate further. Was there precedent for such a lack of response? There were enough mentions to say that ignoring such matters existed. And that it was problematic.

### Discrimination and Harassment

Company X invested the TCs with the authority to counsel the CCEs. The reports of interventions show that some sessions sounded accusatory and were conducted more like interrogations. "Why" questions silenced the CCEs and reduced them to tears while conveying a sense of incompetence and shame. Often, the CCEs were asked if this was where they wanted to work. This approach implied: conform or leave.

Of course, the TCs valued conformity in education, deportment, and grooming: at one site, a file noted the reaction of a TC to the hiring of a CCE, "young and pretty, who needs watching." While this initial comment indicates a mind-set, a predisposition to over-supervise based upon a bias, if not a gender and age prejudice it can be argued that the comment might have had a protective intent, be a mistake, or even indicate a libidinal interest. Later, the "young and pretty" CCE was fired for "being unsuitable." The TC had proven her self-fulfilling assessment. The letter of protest of the CCE questioning this form of harassment by her TC and objecting that the TC had asked the other CCEs on site to "watch her," was ignored. So were the letters of the CCEs who had witnessed the situation and been asked to do the watching.

At the same site, under the same TC, all Native and Metis CCEs were dismissed as "unsuitable" or "unprofessional." How much of this, if anything, amounted to discrimination may be difficult to ascertain; however, escalation of differences between CCEs and their TC entrenched self-preservation, control, bigotry, denial and silence. In spite of these CCEs' claims of harassment and abusive treatment, I could not find any evidence on files that Company X had ever acted to ease the crisis or rectify it over several months.

In two other settings, conflicts escalated to the point of CCEs appealing to the management and accusing TCs of harassment. Again, nothing appropriate appeared to have been done by the contractor to deal with these issues and the CCEs left. The TCs related to such incidents kept their jobs. However, in the same sites other traces of two potential lawsuits and evidence of a WCB investigation were found. All were deflected by Company X. Corporate correspondence expressed appreciation to a TC who had diffused a lawsuit possibility but did not specify how it had been achieved. In another file an ex-CCE sought to have the "prejudicious" wording of his ROE changed and included copy of a TC provided references. The "ROE cannot be changed," wrote the Administrative Assistant in spite of the Labour Act provision for amendments. The WCB investigated the TC doings rather than the company.

Overall, professional differences became sources of complaints. In many instances, previous professional experiences and orientations were discounted and in at least one instance expertise was claimed that could be negated. At one site, cliques formed around common interests and agenda. For example, the beliefs advanced by some COEs and TCs about learning disabilities [a cognitive deficit] can be counter productive to TCs and CCEs who believe in a socially relevant education to rectify a social deficit. Again, three CCEs in disagreement with their TCs' leanings, ended up leaving as did the two teachers with Adult Education credentials who had been reminded to "fall in line" with expected practices.

CCEs voicing different views about education and questioning teaching approaches, outdated materials, and methods and procedures were sanctioned, written up, or accused of disrespect, unprofessional conduct, or of subverting the system. The performances of 11 CCEs previously evaluated as "more than satisfactory" and "worthy of promotion" were suddenly were re-evaluated as "unsatisfactory." Four of these CCEs accepted to be put on probation and did not last, as they faced increasing negative criticism. Three TCs who questioned Company X's decisions and objectives became suspect in their allegiance and they left. Two TCs ran afoul of the COEs and were replaced.

Clearly dissenters were pushed out. Correspondences from three TC indicated that allusions had been made to peers and even specific request to "watch and report;" other files contained documentation indicating that warnings, both in verbal and written communications, were used to aid exit. Thus, the internal pressure for change was reduced in two ways: troublemakers were isolated and exited and those who stayed were silenced and disciplined by example; otherwise, they could have become suspect or have put themselves at risk.

When the conflicts were well established, they were documented as interventions. Delinquent CCEs were compelled to "fit in": quit or be fired. CCEs considered the options and many terminated their engagement to preserve what remained of their dignity.

These CCEs' letters illustrate how they gradually came to the realization that ordinary decency and political correctness were insufficient to guarantee their rights to a work environment free from pressures of harassment, violence and prejudice. The passivity of the contractor allowed free reign to the local management and it could become ruthless when people jostled for position. Privatization thus brought conflict to the surface, a struggle for power between employees and management which ended in the assertion of the management control function.

The CCEs who became *whistleblowers* tried to bring problems to the surface by documenting incidents and facts and brought issues to the attention of the company were ignored. Even after they left, nine of the CCEs wrote directly to the VP to inform him of the situation on sites. These teachers wanted the situation addressed for the benefit of their peers: they did not want them to have to go through the same diminishing experiences. These letters were filed but remain apparently unacknowledged, unaddressed and unanswered like the issues because not one TC was fired over these accusations.

**Stress and Health of CCEs**

The question of security had been summed as "be careful and follow prison rules." During a workshop presentation teachers reported that the main effect of this lack of preparation is a fear of "being in trouble," even if and when they were not quite sure what it meant. Fear forced teachers to "always work with one eye over their shoulder" and it "could take quite a while to get used to," so the uncertainty became an "additional source of stress" (my session at the Region IV, CEA, Vancouver, BC. October 3, 2000).

There is no denying that those who entered the prison were at risk. First, danger of personal and verbal violence, physical threat, and assault are higher than in the public schools and must be met without the benefit of professional protection and recourse as in those schools. Second, exposure to infectious diseases (Hepatitis B and C, TB, HIV, AIDS, others) is presented as minimal by the institution[46] and the contractor, but the presence in the classroom of numerous students who are infected increase stress and can trigger ailments or aggravate existing conditions. Proof that the tension was tangible in the work sites and that it affected the health of CCEs could be found in the files documenting migraines, upset stomachs, and for three CCEs, so severe physical conditions manifested that they had to go on extended medical leave. Third, there was no psychological debriefing after incidents and post-traumatic stress disorder can result from exposure to continuous physical dangers.

Fourth, there was another stress specific to harassment issues, "a pervasive feeling that whatever I do, somebody is looking to see if there is a wrong" pertaining to sexism and harassment, in addition to privacy, labour issues and human rights:

> Things were different when it involved me: 'well, you are young and pretty…'constantly, [I] found it degrading, insulting and hurtful…other staff listened to the 'counselling session', another knew my private business, that I was leaving [that day] to attend to a private matter. I supported others who were receiving abusive treatment on site from the supervisor…why does my file [ROE] say 'unsuitable to work in correction'?

It also explained how a professional performance went from excellent to poor:

> …before June 96 performance was fully satisfactory, after that everything was questioned…[I] was never counselled until September 96…on 15 different issues. It was extremely personal…extremely tense…very stressful…all staff opinion and not factual. At each session a

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[46] On one hand the CSC downplays the risk; while on the other it requires that CSC staff be fully vaccinated and follow contamination procedures to deal with punctures and the handling of all body fluids. CCEs had no vaccination.

> little more pride and dignity was stripped from me…my every moves were monitored…behaviour misinterpreted…I was also made to feel unprofessional, immature and non-compliant…On several occasions, I went home feeling completely useless…when I was made to feel like a terrible teacher and at times, I thought I should quit the profession. I went home in tears…an emotional drain on me and my whole family.

The above employee unravelled both at work and in front of her family. Another's decline, after earning high praise for performance in January 1999, was brought the attention of senior management and peers when the same TC wrote in July 99:

> …seems to be buckling under stress and be discontented…persistant [sic] and almost exclusive use of distance learning materials inappropriate to philosophy of our school [values education]…he replied, he believes he is not treated equally as others and is regarded as a pion [sic][47]…seems adrift in subjective and emotional realms. I feel this is just the beginnings[sic], I have alerted other staff to handle him with care.

The zeal of the TCs and his justifications for exposing the employee to his peers were not investigated nor corrected by Company X when CCE complained of such actions taken on its behalf. But, once the stressful situation attracted official enquiry by the Workers Compensation Board (WCB) its attitude changed. The TC who wrote the above now faced investigation and complains to the Vice President that "I do not enjoy the level of support of Company X that I once did. I have become very sensitive to being questioned and belittled due to the ongoing harassment investigation" (January 2000). Now that his practices had become suspicious he could be questioned. The lack of support seems to indicate a corporate strategy to distance itself and suggest avoidance of responsibility for the action of the TC who had become a liability. Even if the harassment issue was eventually averted, the TC had jeopardized his preferred position in Company X. Four months later, he joined CSC, himself following a pattern central to the dynamics: stay, move up, or move out.

### Summary

This chapter partially explained the attrition rate of CCEs. As a worksite, the prison is a political arena in which interests conflict and promote violence. There is a general violence that describes the nature of teaching in prisons. This violence is both structural and symbolic[48]; and can be explained as consequential or intended[49] in the re-socializing of teachers into CCEs, who know their place. In reviewing the files, it was easier to establish the key patterns discussed here and more difficult and speculative to ascertain the causes. Although some texts advanced key motivations, I admit that the patterns may also result as consequences of many other complex and differentiated factors. For this reason, I encourage further and diverse research from the disciplines into the causes of attrition and suggest it be done with actual subjects rather than from documents.

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[47] 'Pion' was spelled. Was the intended meaning 'pawn' or 'peon' (a member of the labouring class or a person forced into servitude)? Or was this a spelling an error?

[48] Structural violence means that it is organized along the lines of the bureaucracy and physical layout of the prison. Symbolic violence means that it is perceived in concrete manifestation reflecting differential effects of status and distinction.

Important to my purposes here is to move on to a specific form of historical violence, experienced by teachers in prison, which may be located and defined as an independent effect of privatization. Whether it is due to an independent effect of privatization or whether it is intentional or consequential of privatization, the pattern of symbolic violence nevertheless exists and affects CCEs, in detrimental ways:

1. Career-wise, employment is uncertain. The glass ceiling is low and long-term career prospects are almost impossible to determine. In spite of employment contracts, there is constant insecurity of employment with no real due process or recourse for dealing with dismissal.
2. The professional status of teachers is replaced by correctional professional status. This is detrimental economically, socially, professionally and personally by posing an "arrest to the career" of teachers.
3. There is no correctional training adequate to address the lack of preparation of teachers and training is non-existent for the majority of sites. Orientation is delegated to the TCs.
4. There is a lack of information about the implications of privatization and about the correctional schools robbing the teachers of what they expect. The schools are not accredited so permanent teachers' certification is jeopardized by privatization and years of teaching in CSC are unrecognized by the Alberta Teachers' Association for professional placement. Consequently, the potential future income and economic growth of teachers are reduced.
5. The school is an arena of conflicts where corporate interests take precedence over traditional public prison interests and also general human interests. This leads to abuse of power and claims of harassment and conflicts of interests.
6. Morality and reputation are the foundation of professionalism. In the prison, morality (especially women's) is always under suspicion. Suspicion is enough to destroy credibility. Therefore, when conflicts arise, gossips and the violent destruction of character results in the destruction of professional and personal reputation. The irony is that there is such a shame at being fired that it leads teachers to stay in harmful and counter-productive circumstances.

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49 Consequential refers to the natural consequences emerging from the dynamics. Intended refers to specific strategies aimed at obtaining a desired outcome of conformity.

7. The possibility to enter the correctional stream exists and the option is exercised because it provides better salary, benefits, status and apparent empowerment to shape decisions and directions.
8. Administrative function, based on the files appeared lacking: first, in record keeping and in providing proper records of employment, and records of incidents and accidents pertaining to WCB. Second, it emphasized control; and finally in spite of the information provided to the company management by its employees and of the knowledge it contained, there was no evidence of revising policy and procedures, aside from starting salaries, during the entire period of September 1st, 1994 and June 2nd, 2000.
9. Performance evaluations make use of subjective terms such as satisfactory, unsatisfactory and above expectations instead of task and skill specific terminology. As standards can vary, subjective terms increase the risks of conflicting interpretation.

The supervisory control affected performance and resulted in individual CCEs claims of harassment in the work place. At the time, only one claim had been formally brought to the attention of provincial labour relations and compensation agencies. It has always been my intention to share these findings with Company X to help improve the CCEs' working conditions and retention. In spite of my efforts, the meeting never materialized.

The CCEs were hired into a double bureaucratic environment: both the prison and the contracting company are bureaucratically organized. Such structures are known to be implicitly oriented to prevent full democracy and lacking in neutral space where to reflect and voice conflicting ethics and practices. Their autonomy to speak and act without impunity was curtailed by a "culture of silence"[50] (Freire 1970: 12). This could explain why most left without addressing the root issues of conflicts surrounding workplace practices, industrial models of education and ethics.

If a group defines itself as much by what it is not as by what it is, then the employment files revealed only a documented portion of who the CCEs are and of what they experience. The documentation could imply that those who stay in these conditions are in agreement with them. This would support the explanation of "prisonization." The CCEs needed the opportunity to speak for themselves before the retention question could be closed or the definition of their experience concluded.

In the next three chapters the CCEs who stay may provide more information about the dynamics exposed in this chapter and inadvertently, shed additional light on what appears to be a very difficult work situation. They might provide a different view of their experience and if those hired are vulnerable, then besides conformity, how can they explain their decision to stay?

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[50] Culture of silence defines the state of the dispossessed when their ignorance and lethargy are the product of combined economic, social, political and paternalistic domination.

# CHAPTER 6

# THE LIVED EXPERIENCE (1994 - 2000): AWAKENINGS

This chapter starts to describe what the retained contracted correctional educators (CCEs) said about their employment experience. It is the first of three chapters specific to the lived experience of CCEs. These people said they chose to participate in the research because they felt they could contribute to improving the work situation. In sharing their experience they were able to reduce their stress and revealed how they had analyzed their experience from their individual perspectives.

Documentation of the CCEs' experience is essential to the understanding of their experience. By providing first hand information these chapters will document what matters to participating CCEs and how they speak about it; so they will either support, contradict or elaborate upon the documented version of the experience drawn from the employer's files. In addition, the participants' experience overlapped with the documented ones. This offered the possibility to verify certain events, actions, conflicts, and departures mentioned in Chapter Four and to revisit them from another perspective. These CCEs shed illumination on factors affecting their experience and decision to remain. From their lived-experience, I generalize about the group and construct a theory to explain what they went through providing the reader or potential recruit with an understanding of what it means to become a CCE.

## Overall patterns

Three overall patterns emerged from the analysis. First, the individual meaning of the CCEs' experience could not be grasped at a glance, it needed to be uncovered layer by layer, in an interpretive spiral process. A spiral, seen from above, is a circle; but, sideways, it is seen as interconnected layers. Thus, it became possible to sequence events into a linear progression by re-connecting the layers into themes. The substantive elements of this sequencing will become more evident as the reader enters the worldview of the participants. The later chapters complete the spiral by gradually moving from the intellectually objective perspective of professionals to a more subjective and emotional perspectives.

Second, the effects of the experience upon consciousness and agency reveal themselves as participants speak out.

Third, it was also significant that in spite of the distance between the locations of each participant their commentaries about certain topics resulted into "round-table conversations" deepening issues and transcending distance. In addition, no one had isolated topics, they were all interconnecting. These conversational dynamics about the experience raised possibility for generalization about the experience: it is systemic and any CCE could respond as these teachers did.

## I. The Participants

It was important that the CCEs get an opportunity to speak. I chose to interview CCEs to obtain deeper insights into the experiential realities of correctional education and privatization and into individual responses to the prison environment. Six CCEs of the Prairie region voluntarily participated and at the time of the research, they were employed by Company X in the under the same contractual conditions as those whose files were reviewed in the previous chapter. The demographics of the participants indicate that they shared demographic similarities with the group who had left.

### Demographics

**Table 8: Demographics of Participants**

| Self asSelf as | Age | Service | Duties | Security | Stat/Dep | Prior experience |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Knight* | 37 | 2.5 yrs | TC | medium | M/3 | 13 yrs |
| *Visionary* | 55 | 5.5 | ABE+ | maximum | M/-[1] | 30+ |
| *Believer* | 43 | 2.5 | ABE | medium | D/2 | 1 |
| *Retired* | 57 | 1.5 | ABE+ | medium | M/- | 30+ |
| *Traveller* | 40 | 1.5 | ABE+ | medium | M/4 | 12 |
| *Woman* | 52 | 6 | ABE+ | medium | M/2- | 0 |
| **Total** | | **19.5 yrs** | | | | **86 years +** |

### Pseudonyms

Where the documented experiences were anonymous and distant, these experiences are shared by people who still worked for the contractor in the prison schools. Pseudonyms used for the participants reflect the dominant aspect of their voice and were derived from two sources: their inductive generalizations or their self-descriptions at one point or another as Knight, Visionary, Believer, Retired, Traveller and Woman.

Knight exhibited unfailing loyalty and a sense of duty in defending the interests of the contractor and in protecting the CCEs on site. More telling of his idealism, he saw himself and the teachers at his site "as the good guys" and prison education "as a good cause."

Visionary, called herself that to make the difference between herself and peers who were "practitioners." She attributed the visionary with the ability to mastermind new endeavours and admitted that her

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[1] The – indicates grown up child(ren) no longer considered dependents.

> ideas and projects give them [contract staff at her school] all headaches because I have an idea and (laughter) this is it. I'm going to put something down and we are going to work on it...pilot it, and experiment; and if it works, fine. If it doesn't...fine. And off we go.....

However, she presented another perspective of the visionary with the ability to see the manifestations of the global and universal in the micro world of the prison:

> ...when you know a community or a model that well defined within a society, within a community, it is larger than just a sub-culture... It does not matter where an offender lives, the language is universal and what is fascinating is their networking, the lines of communication. Someone could be in (name deleted) having an idea, the offender in (name deleted) knows what he is thinking! It's incredible. It surpasses all essences of any kind of boundaries...there's an example of a global village! They have perfected what we struggle with, we talk of global villages but they have managed to perfect that...but, how?
>
> A[2]: It's like the reversal?
>
> */Yes, that's right! That's right! Something sort of magnified somehow...*

This idea of reversal brought out two possibilities: first that the prison acted as an ideological negation of the society; and second that the prison rendered the immediacy of what cannot be clearly seen outside in society. As a metaphor, it can be understood as the Alhambra's reflecting pools. The ceilings of the palace, over 60 feet high, carved with words of the Koran cannot be read. To make reading possible, the Moors installed shallow pools of water to render the details of the written words; thus by lowering one's gaze one entered another realm. The western equivalent is the idea of the camera obscura of Marx, Freud, Descartes, and Nietzsche (Koffman 1998).

Believer acted upon the dictates of her faith to be of service to prisoners. She saw it as her responsibility not to judge, but to reach out. She quickly realized that the work required more than good will, idealism, or desire to provide a good example. She called her experience "an eye opener" and "...a humbling experience...a leveller."

Retired kept referring to himself as such. This vantage point provided him with added perspective and objectivity towards the prison experience, the contractor and work after retirement. He became an educational consultant as he tallied the positive and negative aspects of the situation and offered an outside educational administrator's view into the dynamics, power structures and politics of employment and educational outcomes.

Traveller had experienced marginalization in her personal life and in her previous career orientation. Working in cross-cultural settings had created affinities, and she felt at ease with diversity. Doing the unusual had become her specialty and she took pride in her ability to effect change. She likened her transition, in and out of prison, "to going across cultures." She was the most aware of the implications of the multicultural aspect of prison; of linguistic manipulations, such as "double-talk;" "rumours;" and "silence." She was most conscious of the use of space in formal and informal orientation processes; in relation to security; as a resource; and as a form of transition when the "breezeway" and the "parking lot" became semi-social places. If the conversations and interactions taking place there were different from those of the school, they were still subject to interpretation by prison observers/listeners and consequently, one was cautious in fear of being labelled a "con-lover." A con-lover is someone in the prison who has sympathies for inmates or who appears 'soft' to other personnel. When one is a woman, this label implies that a possible sexual attraction is the reason for the softness or desire to improve conditions. This is murky and ambiguous because it mixes interactions motivated by care and concern with those of sexual provenance, consequently Steinhauser[3] was considered 'a con-lover' as were some the CCEs who committed sexual improprieties.

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[2] "A" is the first initial of my name. I chose to leave it as such to avoid confusion between the Rs of Researcher and of Retired.

Woman was very vocal about the realities of working in male environments. She described the forms of hostility she encountered and its impact upon herself and her peer group. She also revealed the financial implications of privatization on women who depend upon their income for security now and in later years. Ultimately, she exemplified and named the process by which satisfactory educators become unsatisfactory as "character assassination."

The above self-identification influenced and underlined the discourses, pauses and silences in this research and informed the critical awareness of its participants. I concluded that each participant's understanding was part of greater hermeneutic circle and that each interpretation spiralled into the next. Also, the dynamic of interpretation revealed the impossibility of addressing the findings from only one perspective; therefore, an ancillary approach to the discussion was required to really understand the importance of the points to which the participants kept returning to in order to capture depth of the prison experience and of the CCEs.

### Age

Overall, the average age of the participants at the time of hiring was 47.2 years, older than the initial group's average but the participants were well within the range established. At the time of interview during the Summer of 2000, the age averaged 50.6 years. This reflected a high level of maturity and diversity of personal and professional experiences.

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[3] The Farris Inquiry into the death of Mary Steinhauser (1945-75) cleared her name. The document was found in the Solicitor General Library (HV 9509.B7 C6, 1975) because its consultation/reproduction is *restricted by law* (ref. Correctional Service of Canada fonds-R942-0-X-E # R942-55-2-E Pacific Region, Control MIKAN # 142328).

### Length of service

The participants' years of service added to nineteen years. The variety of employment duration added credibility to the research as readers get insights into the process and meaning of becoming CCEs. Prospective CCEs can get a fair idea of what awaits them. However, the depth of the experience remained an individual phenomenon.

### Security level of site

The distribution and presence of participants in different security level institutions indicated that certain the factors influencing their prison experiences were systemic rather than isolated. However, until now the severity of these factors were manifestations considered as sites specific phenomena or "personalities" (Wright 1998).

### Duties

Participants' duties and responsibilities varied and correlated to their knowledge of operations, administration, and politics in a variety of institutions and levels of security. The rest of the table establishes social status and professional status helpful to ascertain some of the effects of prison life and privatization.

### Marital status and dependants

Marital status confirmed that the employer appeared to prefer the stability of long established lifestyles in their choice of employees. Having dependants compounded the social and economic challenges of privatized work. It was made evident that to remain, one had to have additional sources of income.

Having a spouse and/or dependants provided outside opinions or mentions of perceived prison effects upon the individuals by their immediate families. Thus, the individual experience became a social one.

### Previous teaching experience

Previous professional teaching experience totalled 86 years. Having inexperienced teachers involved in this research provided balance to the prison experience. Long-term teachers apparently were less affected by the prison than newcomers to the profession. They also appeared less bothered about the potential lack of career trajectory; but while one was uncritical of the situation, another provided the most complete evaluation of the impact of privatization upon working conditions.

## II. Settings

The settings are important because they were the sites of the experience and because they represented the established structure. The prison and the school were the spaces ritualizing the CCEs' practices.

### Prison

The internal prison dynamic was unknown to CCEs when they entered the site for the first time. Only one CCE knew of educational services provided by the public school system to provincial institutions. For the most part the federal settings remain uncharted territory for the public. On the whole, penitentiaries are a source of fear and of curiosity based upon media representations. Simply, these teachers were afraid of the prison.

Believer said "I kept thinking, oh, I don't want to go there, it sounds awful..." Yet, she ended up going. Retired, too, was apprehensive: "...I was scared of the offenders...I was scared of going into the penitentiary because I had no idea what it was all about." He went and realized "...it was quite different than what I thought" but still "absolutely refused to sub[stitute teach]." Subsequently, he was hired by Company X. Woman, in spite of her terror, first rationalized her decision: "...other people work there, so surely this is something I can do as well. But, I was very intimidated by the whole idea of going in the prison...I was scared out of my wits, but I needed work and I took it."

Public curiosity is a trump used by CSC to attract public support and potential volunteers to serve on various committees. In 1997, the Edmonton Institution for Women (EIFW) had an Open house and guided tours for the public prior to the arrival of the inmates. Just after the time of the research, the old Prison for Women, the infamous P4W, was the chosen site for a tour and volunteer recruitment campaign (Kingston Whig-Standard, November 11, 2000, Front page). This indicated the spell that the place still casts upon public imagination. P4W was closed in May 2000, and none of the volunteers would ever work there. Yet, curiosity could be capitalized on as Visionary revealed:

> ...other organizations who ask me to share, to speak...they're just fascinated. Whether it be sociological groups or university groups or other groups connected with a spirituality ...they're very interested... And remember...[when] the Women's Institution [EIFW] had such a high profile...and so many people now are partnered for fund-raising...it has become...sort of...very, very fashionable, if I may use that term.

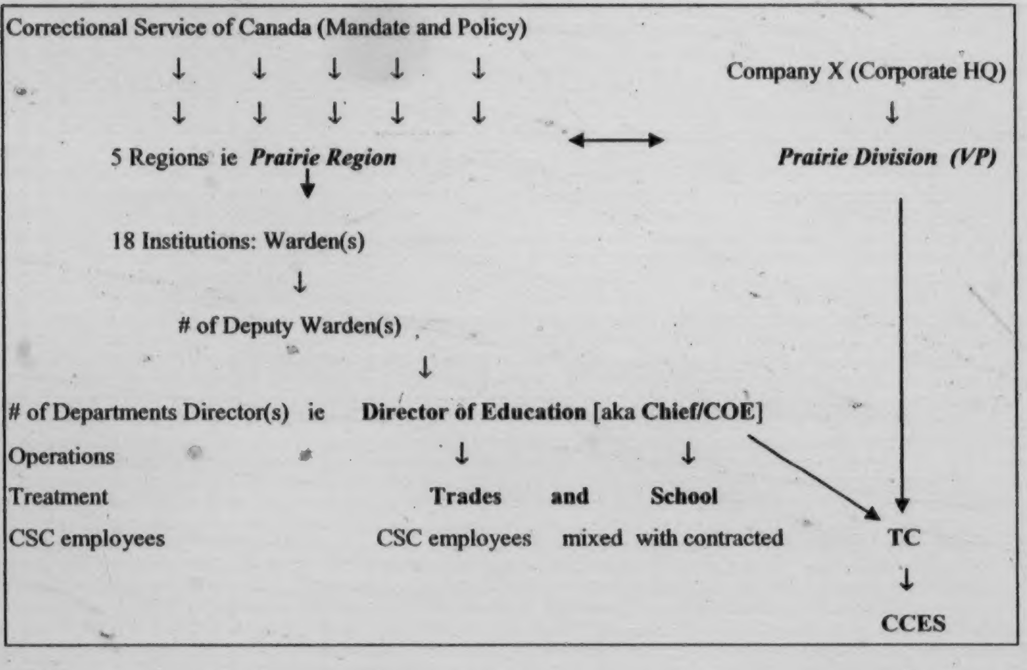
Curiosity, might attract volunteers, yet, the curiosity of future teachers was not aroused by the contractor advertisement. It only stated positions available for teachers interested in a challenging and rewarding career and a post office box address where to apply. It was therefore understandable that the initial response to the possibility of teaching in prison was fear. However, first impressions were also telling. For Traveller, "...the first thing that struck me for those first few weeks, and still does sometimes, is what an incredibly sad place it is because there's so much wasted, wasted life."

At best, the prison remained intimidating. "I suppose it was like walking into another world. I had absolutely no idea what I was looking at," added Woman and she elaborated on another aspect of curiosity allowing her to see prisoners as equals:

> ...the first thing that I saw was all these characters dressed in these green jackets, and such desperate looking affairs and these were going to be the students. Of course there's this huge curiosity, because we're in a men's prison, and here's the new woman... and there was this open curiosity as to who was coming through that gate. But I also found that they identified with you because you were not part of the main structure. You were not in uniform, you were somebody that they could deal with and that was there right from day one. Like there was an approach from them, although I'd never met an inmate in my life, I knew that this was going to be ok. Because what I saw were just faces...and they were curious about me and I was curious about them and that's how it all started, that's how we met. But I think the openness came not from the staff, but from the men that I was going to be working with.

## The School and Correctional Education

**Figure 3: Education in Prison**


Correctional Service of Canada (Mandate and Policy)
Company X (Corporate HQ)
5 Regions ie *Prairie Region*
*Prairie Division (VP)*
18 Institutions: Warden(s)
# of Deputy Warden(s)
# of Departments Director(s) ie
Director of Education [aka Chief/COE]
Operations
Treatment
CSC employees
Trades
and
School
CSC employees
mixed
with contracted
TC
CCES

The participants provided descriptions and assessments of educational operations at their individual sites from which generalizations could be made. On of the reasons for the orientation process is for the CCEs to learn about the structure and their place in it and in the prison layout. The participants knew[4] that Correctional Programs included a broad range of "treatment" and education and training programs. The CORE (treatment) programs were available at all sites.

The administrative prison school structure was bureaucratic, as all schools are, and this similarity contributed to the sense of familiarity for CCEs. However, prison schools differed from public schools due to privatization. The prison authorities and Company X both defined the internal organizational structure of the school; but their manuals outlined only the official lines of command and communication. In reality, privatization has resulted in two parallel bureaucracies and hierarchies, with different statuses and expertise, under the authority of the institutional Director of Education better known and referred to as the Chief of Education (COE).

Some institutions had Trades training to enhance future employability and provide for the maintenance (work) needs of institutions. There are numerous trades needed to keep an institution functioning; this variety offered inmates opportunities to learn however, the teachers were not all certain of the opportunities to qualify through the various provincial Apprenticeship Board Exams.

Education, although mandated, varied in scope and the sites also varied in what was offered and in the personnel provided by Company X. The education provided was referred to by the participants as Adult Basic Education (ABE 1, 2, 3) leading to preparation for the General Equivalency Diploma (GED). The option of taking correspondence courses may or not have been available. Five (5) participants confirmed that the correctional party line was that correctional education offered Grade 12 matriculation as a result of the presence of the GED[5].

Native Programs were offered but delivery varied from site to site falling either the school, or under the Chaplaincy provision through a culturally relevant provider. Native Elders would offer spiritual/psychological programs outside of the authority of the COE. At the sites where educational and pro-social Native programs were provided by the school, Company X provided the necessary staff.

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[4] Four participants referred either to a CSC brochure (1992) or to their institutional Inmate Orientation Handbook – Education & Training Division (undated and varied) when speaking about education and schooling at their sites.

[5] In Alberta, although the GED is sponsored and recognized by Alberta Education, it remains insufficient for admission to Colleges and to post-secondary or trade institutions as they set their own entrance requirements for admission (Barrette 1998a). This is a source of great disappointment in the post-release experience of prisoners (1998c).

## III. The Gatekeepers

In any work place certain people are more important or influential than others. This was not different in the prison, except that for CCEs it confirmed the lack of clout of the contractor in affecting the working relationship and the educational programs (resources, process and contents) at their sites. The contractor's loss reinforced the importance of the Director of Education/Teacher-Coordinator's relationship or lack of relationship upon programs, resources and activities.

### The Chief of Education (COE)

In being charged with the efficient delivery of Education and Training Programs, the Director of Education occupied a select place in the prison power structure. The Director reported directly to the Assistant or Deputy Warden or to the Warden. All the Directors were male at the time of research.

Reflecting the status of the position, the bureaucratic title of Director had been replaced by the one of "Chief" which appeared to better convey the authority he wielded in the administration of his domain, its resources, and its personnel. In all the years of interaction and conversations I only saw the term Director of Education in official CSC documents like the Commissioner's Directives, Standing Orders, national reports. The only place I saw either use was on Certificates of Completion given to students. All the participants used the term Chief; consequently, I am using it also. The Chiefs (COEs) were crucial to the definition, orientation and reputation of their schools.

While it appeared that most[6] COEs carried credentials as certified teachers, this external professional designation had long been replaced by their internal correctional professional designation. Their career evolved within the correctional system and they acknowledged the higher authority of the Wardens and of the Commissioner rather than the Minister of Education.

The operations of the prison were not common knowledge to the CCEs. Daily, the COEs attended a briefing meeting with the Warden, Deputy Warden(s) and other Directors about the prison operation. From there, decisions about how the school would be affected were made. Thus, the COEs were the line of communication to the prison and from it: they controlled information and parceled it out on a need-to-know basis.

COEs also monitored the information from the school. They approved Students' progress reports before they could be processed to the Offenders Management System (OMS). Similarly, reports of operations and attendance for the contracted personnel had to be countersigned by COEs before being submitted to Company X. These were the usual business practices. Ideally, said Knight, "...the relationship of the COE to a Company X's employee is at arms length because the COE is a CSC employee and Company X is the outfit that his regional superiors have contracted to provide particular services." However, findings negated the distance between the CCEs and the COEs.

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[6] One third of the COE's teacher's credentials could not be confirmed.

The participant recognized the COEs' power and high profile in their Institutions. They were congruent in referring to their individual COE as a gatekeeper to the school (6x); a translator of CSC's directives (6x); an advocate for education (6x); an administrator (Budget and resources) (6x); a security enforcer (6x); and as a disciplinarian (6x). In addition the COE was also referred to as an union officer (1x); a public speaker for the institution (2x) or its policies (1x), a recruiter to Company X (1x) and, potentially, to CSC (2x). Therefore, it was not surprising that CCEs spoke of their COEs with mixed emotions. COEs could affect their ability to survive in a correctional career both positively and negatively.

This wide-ranging perspective included security aspects. In the prison, the contracted personnel have no authority over the correctional personnel. So, in daily interactions with the correctional bureaucratic structure, the COE was the only person who could demand and obtain results; "nobody [at the school] could get anything until he got back...[when] he came back and took off a strip of the people supposed to answer that buzzer[7]...from the bubble[8] and then things changed...but until the COE..." It was clear that without the COEs' support, CCEs were even more vulnerable to violence and endangerment. This CCEs' vulnerability, due to disparity in security, did not undermine their confidence in their individual COE. Even when they disagreed with his methods they agreed with his intentions: "[name deleted] is the Chief and he is very good; he wants his staff to be safe, at times he can be too paternalistic and he does a lot of protecting...."

Sometimes, the desire to protect employees, conveyed by silence about institutional issues of security, went to extremes and could be construed as failure to inform. It affected their ability to make an educated decision about staying or leaving. For example, at two sites, CCEs reported learning of prison incidents on the television news [after the facts]: they had not been briefed at work on the severity of the incidents. This prevailed upon their right to make an informed decision about accessing or remaining in the workplace and resulted in a false sense of security during riots, fires, and incidences of violence such as murders and assaults and hostage takings.

At other times, the lack of communication appeared to be an instrument to keep CCEs half-informed or uninformed about developments in the school. My field research during the Summer of 2000, followed the Literacy 2000 Conference (May 2000); but when asked how the announcement of the new Grade 12 standard[9] was going to affect the local school operations for the upcoming year (September 2000-2001); none of the participants could answer concretely. They had heard "rumours" (3x), "suppositions" (2x) and or the old explanation that "GED is already Grade 12" (2x). Pushing for an answer, I obtained "...nothing has been talked about since then." This last exchange occurred two weeks before the beginning of the school year, yet secrecy was evident: "I don't know what he's planning to do...I have no idea really. He's talked about it very little." A participating TC confirmed that silence prevailed even for him "there's no communication for us [contracted people]. We are not told. The only communication I get is from Company X, I guess when they hear from somebody at whatever level down here that things will be happening. That's where we get our information. We don't get them locally."

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[7] The "buzzer" refers to the Portable Personal Alarm (PPA), a security device, worn by all. It is monitored and answered from the closest security point to the alarm. It is to be used for emergencies or to indicate a potential danger.

[8] The bubble is a Plexiglas encased Security post.

[9] All the participants had heard (first hand) and applauded this commitment made by Commissioner Ingstrup to render prison education equal to provincial Gr.12

Yet, COEs could also be very supportive and innovative. One participant reported that her COE advanced research: "...we're very fortunate that way. Very fortunate that our COE...nurtures that [research], and...and...and again just...just allows it." Another COE was commended for implementing evening programs and new initiatives in accredited training. Others COEs, locally encouraged CCEs' active participation in the Literacy 2000 Conference and fostered international representation. One participant was especially appreciative:

> [In preparation] I did a ton of work and talked to different teachers. For the first time I felt like I was part of a team...we were doing something together and I was making a contribution. And [name of COE] was so pleased at what I was doing...later he asked me if I would step in, in his place... ...working together and...I loved what I was doing, I loved the people I met. It's one of the most rewarding things I've ever had out of all those years of working...recognition for those few days...

She then, raised her hand, intertwined two fingers, and said "...we were like this."

However, if differing with a COE could be hazardous to one's career, she soon discovered that so could working with him and voicing closeness and appreciation for the opportunities he provided. Either way, it jeopardized her employment. Even if the above situation appeared professionally straightforward, it had an unfortunate effect upon this participant's career. After returning from the Conference, Woman found herself "shunned." All of a sudden her TC, her trusted mentor, treated her at arm's length: "It was as if I had crossed over into the enemy's territory," she said before breaking into tears.

Prison education had a unique dilemma: the political, the professional and the personal were too close for employees to risk reflective distance. Simply stated, prison-contracted employees-employer relationships were too enmeshed for enhancing critical perspectives. And this was exactly why critical reflection was needed.

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norms to facilitate transfer and re-integration.

### The Teacher-Coordinator (TC)

In regards to the academic portion of correctional education, Company X only provided teachers for the sites. Within this generic group, a Teacher-Coordinator (TC)[10] was responsible for the supervision of academic operations and for the administrative function of service delivery. It was also a TC's responsibility to maintain the interests of the contractor and to foster a cooperative working relationship with the COE and other service providers. For the CCEs, TCs were the first line of communication to the COEs and to Company X, Prairie Division. The TCs most often combine administrative, counselling and teaching functions and they have no authority over any CSC employees. TCs were in a difficult situation and sometimes dynamics went horribly wrong.

Isolation and vulnerability were experiences shared and they stemmed from attempting to adapt to the reality of what Visionary called "serving several masters:"

> Well, all right, well...Corrections Canada has a Mission Statement, and so, we [Company X] honour and move within that. And then...there's correctional education, and then we [at school] have sort of our mission within [site name deleted], kind of a local [one]. And also, because we [contracted teachers] have the Code of Ethics and Mission Statement for Company X, which is part of...not one is in isolation…one is reliant on the others, and intertwined because it's...the Mission Statement is...everything intermeshes and intertwines, so in a sense it's a blend...that's because we [Company X] wants it to, and makes it a factor...it's very important for Company X, to work within all that.
>
> ...[several masters] it's not in a derogatory sense, but it gives a sense of the hierarchy. It is a hierarchy, that's right. That's' right, we're [Company X and its teachers] guests, well, look guests of, guests of the Institution...we [contracted teachers] have to then define our own parameters within that.

For a TC this precarious positioning could pose serious problems of management at the site:

> Since '99 we've [site] had a lot of restructuring in the school, off an on. When we [contract teachers] first came in, we were ABE 1, ABE 2, and we were doing all of Unit 5 which includes the Dissociation, Segregation, and Mental Health [units] with one CCE working over there full time.
>
> The first year, we [CCEs] had a lot of tension...there was a study done by another COE, and an independent saying that [name of site deleted] should have separation [of services]: a contract would be running the school, and CSC would be outside the school doing cell-studies,

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[10] Master-Teacher is also another term. However, the term Teacher-Coordinator is prevalent, so I use this term.

> running Intake Unit and Unit 5... That recommendation was only done partially. The CSC teachers are still staying in the school, but they're doing some things on the outside. Then, our CCE Intake teacher came over to ABE 3 [took that over] and the previous ABE-3 teacher [CSC] took over part of the cell-studies…this remains the situation now.
>
> We [school] have waiting [lists] for ABE-1 and ABE-2...we [school] could take directly into ABE-3...GED, we're [contract teachers] losing our [school and classroom] space to [CORE] programs (CSC) now.

In this passage this TC shared more than frustration; he exemplified the rational impossibility of real productive cooperation.

This situation is not something that can be easily be resolved by amiable conversation between two interested parties because institutional and bureaucratic attitudes enforce control, disparity, and hostility. Knight elaborated on the upward flow of communication ensuring that the COEs must always appear to know what is being done in the school even as he is shut out:

> He [COE] wants to know a little bit about what I'm doing, and my testing, but I'm not allowed to ask him about anything because it's none of my business...because when I've asked about how their [CSC education] system works, I've been told by the Chief that it's none of my business what their system does... Plain and simple...I'm not sure what they do with their cell-studies, or GED whatever, again I'm told, that's none of my business...

Another aspect of the difficulties of management emerged from the contractual arrangement and vague job description. Knight accumulated a wide range of responsibilities:

> They [CSC teachers] decided that there was too much work over there [Intake], so I should take over CAAT [Canadian Adult Achievement Test]...So I got that. And then later on they [CSC teachers] decided it was too much work to do Maximum [Unit 5], so I inherited that part of that job....

Participants were aware and recognized the difficulties of the TC's position. Believer said that her "TC puts up with all kinds of abuse…" and was "...like a shield..." Retired mentioned that he had gained much respect for a lot of people who work in prison including all the educators,

> but particularly for the TC, [name deleted] for how well she does her role, how much insights she has in the population that she's dealing with...I expected there would be someone there, but I did not expect that what she had learned to do would be as extensive as it is.

Of the four teachers participating in this research, not one envied the position of their TCs. Two actually expressed relief at having been passed over for promotion. Only one still had the aspiration of one day, occupying the position. The remaining one mentioned that there was a TC and nothing beyond that.

## IV. Marginality of CCEs

Marginalization is "being part of the whole but outside the main body" (hooks 1984: preface). For CCEs, marginality meant that if teachers could enter the world of prison they could not live there. Therefore, while they appeared to have a restricted view of the totalizing prison life limited by their working hours; they could develop a peculiar way of seeing prison reality as they looked at it from both the outside in and the inside out. This mode of seeing, unknown to their 'masters,' was necessary for a CCE's survival because it encouraged and helped them transcend the limitations of the prison environment, its politics, and its polarized worldviews.

### Resocialization

The entry of "civilians[11]" into the correctional system demands some form of resocialization. First, the CCEs' orientation provided the means of learning new norms and to adapt to prison rules. These rules were sometimes curiously familiar to teachers who were already socialized to work in large bureaucratic organizations through years of education and experience.

Yet, the benefits of being oriented at inception were tangible: "...I had no idea how much I appreciated it, until I started [to] actually working on my own..." contributed Retired who benefited from an extensive 8-9 days of paid in-service. He credited the orientation for his smooth adaptation when he started his work "...without that, I might have got to the same place but would have probably stepped on fingers and toes inadvertently." He was especially appreciative that the previous teacher had informed the students of the change and then introduced him, as the replacement "...because in regular school when a teacher changes, kids almost resent the new teacher...I see a lot of the same things in there [prison school]."

According to the participants at some sites, the responsibility of preparing new CCEs for the realities of the environment was left entirely to the TC accountable for their behaviour. Occasionally, the training had been the result of a joint effort between the COE and TC, or delegated by the COE to the Internal Parameter Security Officer (IPSO).

Second, resocialization was ensured through various processes and ongoing monitoring. In the prison this educational process started from the outside in:

> ...I still remember coming in [the prison]...being turned down at the door [by security] because I had my purse. I had to go back to my car and divest myself of my purse...then I was told that I could not go in [the prison or school], I had to wait until somebody came and got me. So I'm sitting [actually standing] at the front [gate], waiting...waiting quite a while...about 1 hour.

Two reductive processes can be found in this last passage. First, think of what is carried in a purse or wallet. Their contents reflect one's identity as social entities, as women, and as individuals; so, leaving one's purse behind means divesting oneself of proof of previous statuses. Anyone who has ever lost a wallet or purse can verify the effects of such a loss and add to it the loss of the many little comforts they contain. Second, although capable of walking and following directions to the school to arrive on time, the recruit was made to wait until somebody came to get her, as if she were a package. This enforced dependence took precedence over punctuality.

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[11] CSC' staff is designated as correctional officers. CCEs are not.

The ritual of orientation was not uniform, the participants juxtaposed comments proved how widely it could vary in contents and delivery. Believer said, "I had a tour of the whole place and that was about it...a two-week orientation was supposed to happen when I came...now it is coming up [three years later], it' a bit behind![12] ...we have talked to a few people, the IPSO talked with us...information about gangs..." Traveller added, "something was given to me, prepared by the TC, I believe, that basically said the rules and things to think about and look for from the teacher's perspective. I was taken on a tour...twice. Once by the TC, sort of a little mini-tour and then another tour by the COE through the prison and trades areas...just more extended...the shops." Then, "with the TC, I ended up going a few places because she had to go there...but with the COE, I also went to the un[illegible] and the hole, and places like that where I would not normally go." Woman contributed that she had "spent two days with [name of COE], I was just exhausted walking behind this man who was showing me the ropes with all his gusto…and I never could get to what I really wanted to see…We went through the shops and we visited all the areas of the prison. We walked back end to end, but what I really wanted to know was what I was to teach…what were the books…what was expected [curriculum]…[instead of] visiting the shops [work sites and storage] and going to the hospital."

If the tours were one way CCEs learned the geography of the prison it was also how they were being taught their "place" in the prison. The orientation was also a strategy defining territory and establishing boundaries: who went where and who belonged where, so this was how CCEs were made aware and indirectly, warned not to cross in the borders of the units, the hospital, the shops, or the administration. They were restricted in their movement.

However, while the orientation made it possible to socially determine the place of CCEs in the prison and to limit it to the school, it also vertically extended the school across site boundaries. Consequently, it was possible to be of the school, but not in it and to feel that one could function in a quasi-independent way when distance minimized contact with the centre of authority concretized in the presence of either the COE or the TC.

Physical marginalization, the darker side of turning competent professional into potential victims could be achieved through proceedings reinforcing the ignorance and vulnerability of CCEs, by playing upon their disorientation and individual fears.

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[12] The orientation was subsequently canceled, again.

This psychological manifestation of marginalization resulted in culling or isolation and a greater sense of vulnerability. There is therefore no surprise to see that the end of the day brings release to the CCEs. Visionary volunteered cheerfully "...besides, you know, with us we're out of there!!!/We can't stay there longer than about [deleted time at her site], we're out... because of security." Symbolically, the identification tag issued by the Institution allowed entry to the site. Absolutely everyone in the prison wore a tag and without it access was denied. The tag was colour-coded[13] and defined the role, the space and the presence of the individual. For CCEs, the space was the school where they were required to be during working hours when prisoners were students. As time for CSC related to security operations it meant that CCEs had to be out before "the count[14]," when the students returned to their prisoner-self. Time, for Company X, became a selling point because for CCEs it meant that it was time to be themselves and to use their own time, after they left for the day.

Sometimes resocialization apparently failed and the manifestation of various forms of deviant behaviours concretized. Three participants mentioned incidences of peer involvement in contraband, sexual activities, and breaches of security entailing immediate dismissal and the foreclosure of any employment possibility with both the contractor and CSC. Getting rid of the erring CCEs had provided punishment by examples ensuring ongoing compliance in the remaining CCEs.

However, if re-socialization could be successful in ensuring compliance with security, it could also be counter-productive in other ways. The way resocialization is done and used could lead to surprising insights into the workings of the prison, its mentality and attitudes towards women. Woman and a peer had attended sessions and she said:

> I found that the most bizarre thing I'd ever heard of...months later, you've fielded it [contact with prisoners] all on your own for months, now all of a sudden they [IPSO] were going to teach us how not to be taken advantage of. I remember...we were extremely angry...we were mad at what we had been told.

The dangers of inmates' set-up that the COEs, TCs and IPSOs warned CCEs about, was exactly what they were doing to CCEs. Focusing on "them" (prisoners) as a source of fear and mistrust would blind CCEs to the administrative and corporate set-ups they were already involved in: "by nailing a man's whole attention to the floor of his mere consumer interests, it is hoped to render him incapable of appreciating the ever increasing degree of his spiritual, [social] political and moral degradation" (Havel 1985: 12).

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[13] For security reason, I will not reveal the various colors used and specifically, the color of the contracted personnel.

[14] When prisoners are returned to cells to be counted no movement is allowed from one area to another during that time. So CCEs have to leave before it takes place.

Woman made two further observations about the training outcomes:

> When [name deleted] fell apart after Anatomy of a Set-up...when she came back she had to have the door locked, she was absolutely paranoid...it was like the turning point...the trigger that turned her around...I could be dead wrong but it happened right on the heels of that Anatomy...[second name deleted] was with her and then when they came back all of a sudden every inmate was scum, they had bought the whole idea, they were going to protect themselves anyway they could. But later [second name] found her balance to get on with her work... [first name] couldn't...they [CSC] don't give that training to CCEs anymore....

Security is a high priority in the prison and it applied to the safety of all within its walls. However, participants reported that there was no explanation or rationale provided for decision or rules; so, they had to scramble and learn the hard way unless they asked specific questions. "Learning the prison is a very difficult ongoing learning process" summed Knight. However, the participants had learned their supporting role and "carried on as if things are normal."

### Political Marginalization

In any setting, there are politics and to the participants they are never seemed as evident as in the prison. These politics mean that one has to learn where they fit in and how to relate to the whole. It is not surprising that for these CCEs the meaning of being a contracted employee was their first realization of the prison politics. In the prison, being a "contract" was the master definition replacing previously held professional designation and statuses. Furthermore, this also meant that professional knowledge and experience acquired "outside" were nullified by the ignorance of what was "inside." Thus, in becoming a CCE the loss of professional status, as elaborated in the last chapter, regulated activities and interactions because it set the contracted individual apart from the two groups necessary to the prison: the correctional employees and the prisoners. This confirmed the teachers' marginalized status, perceived by the inmates and correctional officers in the penal system found by Fox (1994).

Every participant mentioned that they were "contract." Only Visionary denied that being contracted affected her status between the correctional groups. However, she contradicted herself when she said: "...we serve several masters." Listen to Knight to get an idea of the depth politics can reach:

> It's a unique situation we walked into as contract. We walked...into an awkward situation...because there was tension [before and still] between CSC [staff] and our company...there wasn't that sense of co-operation, teamwork with CSC...I would say CSC Education staff definitely didn't want us to be here...So that was our [group] initial experience...
>
> A: ...how long did it take to turn around the situation?

> K: I would suggest it hasn't turned around...And this is three years...There's still the tension. ...we [teachers at the site] feel we're treated differently, as second class educators...there's this complete undermining...

In this case, the source of the friction was privatization. One local correctional newsletter expressed regret at the fact that [pre-existing] teachers had lost their jobs when Company X's teachers came in the Institution, and denounced the fact that they had replaced unionized teachers. The newsletter translated an administrative political decision into a personal issue and the CCEs were bearing the brunt of it as "scabs." Therefore, it was not surprising that when there was union talk in front of CCEs, they "are careful not to comment" (Visionary). This confirmed that in spite of denial of disparity or conflict, the political tension underscored interactions even at the best of times but more specifically at the worst of times when it jeopardized the CCEs' security.

Students are usually the first to know when there are differences between teachers and other staffers and they can be quick to take advantage of the fact. And teachers can also be used by one faction against the other as exemplified in the CBC Newsbreak at Stony Mountain Institution, on September 10, 1998, when a Native Brotherhood spokesperson accused CSC and Company X of providing a second-class education to Native prisoners.

This questioning of the quality of education re-appeared in various settings because the participants reported that when prisoners-students were transferred they expressed "how good being transferred was because they would now be going into a real school." They heard the reputation of certain schools, but sometimes, they find out that in reality there is not much change: Company X services all the schools in the region and COEs still control the schools through budgets and expenditures. These facts reinforce the importance of the quality of the COEs/TCs' working relationship plays in avoiding conflicts upsetting the school climate and service delivery.

For CCEs, conflicts affected the amount of materials and the resources for the school and the TCs were kept in the dark about budgeting and purchasing. CCEs had to utilize whatever was available. If they required others materials they "beg, borrow and ...steal...," stated Knight. It appeared that the prison was tainting behaviours in order for CCEs to do what they had been hired to do: teach.

In Knight's situation the conflict played in the school had political implication for CSC: a labour conflict between prison administration and union representatives. The Warden complied with the regional decision allocating the school contract to Company X and allowed the contracted teachers on site. The unionized correctional staff opposed privatization and the COE was a Union Steward. As the representative of a set of interests, he was already in conflict with management prior to the arrival of the CCEs. Yet, he had to follow his orders and obey decisions which jeopardized his interests and undermined his representation. Previously, the unionized staffers' opposition to privatization had led Company X to withdraw its employees; now faced with the alternative of unemployment, the CCEs endured.

In spite of promises, the situation had continued to fester since their return. For example, in an unprecedented move, the CSC staff and the COE had filed a grievance in 1999 against the Assistant-Warden of Programs (AWP), who had supported CCEs in his subsequent decision-making. Following the grievance resolution, confirming the right action of the AWP, he was transferred to a less political Institution. Despite the decision and the reassurance that "...the Warden thinks that we're doing a wonderful job" ... CCEs knew that "CSC Education staff and the Union don't want us there" concluded Knight.

This was the only site where through the Union and the structure of the bureaucracy the conflict had been laid out with such up-front animosity and hostility. In other Institutions, the participants were aware of the unequal status they held, a fact reported as being stated or alluded to when CCEs were told "you're not CSC" or "you're a guest here," expressions disguising antagonism and yet, stating exclusion.

Almost unanimously the participants spoke of the tension at work because the political conflict undermined education and the re-integrative outcomes. Knight who previously had mentioned the lack of resources then addressed the issue of space: "We [the school site] have the physical space to increase to have up to grade 12...but [CSC] they'd have to pull the [CORE] programs out [of the school], go into other areas where they were before...so...." He identified a bottleneck situation limiting his space, the number of teachers, and the resources while having more students waiting.

After three years, he had not much hope of improvement. Communication had been diverted and even a strategic attempt to open up avenues of communication between all employees had backfired:

> What it ended up happening was a one hour contract bashing, including to people that didn't know us from anywhere before, but [who] were invited from outside...it was a basically an hour of contract bashing and, to a point where the Assistant Warden looked to me, and there was nothing we could say to defend it [the contract] anymore, ...the other people picked up on it, and since then we never had any kind of group meeting, it was a terrible experience for all our contract teachers.

The teachers' marginalization, first discussed as perceptions of the correctional staff and prisoners by Fox (1994) now manifested itself in Knight's comments concerning other everyday interactions:

> We've [CCEs as a group] had negative comments from union people. The others [non union], you know, don't deal with us, they don't really care, they're just there to do their job...but we don't have too much interactions, you know, intermingling with other units. Maybe on the phone. We're [CCEs] sort of on our own. The school is separate, in one corner of the institution, but we don't have guards in there...we don't really do too much intermingling during the day. We eat there [in the school ...when we first started out [three years prior] we were eating in the mess hall, we were always at our own table. There was nobody joining us, or those sort of things, so...you could feel that

> [distance]. But overall we don't really have that much intermingling, unless you're dealing directly with people.. ...but it [opposition] hasn't died, like, it's constant. It's always there.

This last commentary reflected an extreme one site, which could be attributed superficially to a conflict between two individuals: the COE and the TC. However, this interpretation would simplify the issue and negate that the problem is political rather than personal as both individuals defend separate interests: one the workers', the other the service provider's.

In other words, to remain guests, and most particularly unwanted ones, within the existing correctional set up meant shaping individual beings to what was acceptable by the host. Corporate dependency demands that it must please the prison-host in order to survive. This is why I call the prison-contractor relationship symbiotic and parasitic: unsettling aspects of the complicity of servitude are enshrined in the contract agreement. This agreement made clear that the contractor-prison relationship is one of fees for services. However, the CCEs' goodwill must exist to bring about the delivery of services, so the relationship presented during participants' employment interviews as "a partnership" is rather clearly determined and maintained by the contractees' degree of respect or rather, of unquestioning subjugation to the existing rules and limitations. However, the pre-existing contractual agreement should not require that teachers abdicate the professional ethics and obligations that they have as professional teachers to embrace correctional ones. When the ethics of teaching and corrections clashed individual issues and conflicts arise.

What were the ethical issues underpinning conflict? First, the participants expected their expertise to enhance education and improve the life possibilities of their students. They saw themselves as valuable assets to their assigned schools. Instead, their contracted position meant loss of professional status and they had to earn a new status as correctional educators. Second, that correctional values took precedence educational values meant one was marginalized as a guest. Third, CCEs were not just considered guests but undesirable guests. Unionized employees considered them scabs as a result of their private status. They were thus consequently even more vulnerable to the obligation to serve and please to stay employed. Believer reported:

> I think it's getting a little bit better now. But I find that, in general it's not good...or it doesn't exist...we are not really recognized in school. I think it's some…in some places it's getting a little bit better. In the last year I've noticed it's improving, ...but generally we are not recognize...we're not considered...The Warden has made it very clear in staff meetings that we are contract...therefore, nothing applies to us...although...when rules are broken everything applies to us. You know, we're the first...first whipping boys on the block...first in line...you have a certain paranoia about CSC, because you know that they will blame you first chance they get! So they're…that doesn't make for a good relationship. And you know...you call the guards and they will snap at you...or treat you like an idiot! That sometimes

> happens...the parole officers are getting a little bit better...they will call to get your opinion on things...and that's very nice when that happens...that seems to be a sort of a new development...

Coming from the outside, Retired had to figure where he belonged. The process was simplified by affiliation, resulting in surprising outcomes:

> ...I know a lot of the [CSC] people there. I didn't know where a lot of them worked until I started working at the penitentiary...some of them certainly see the value of education, and the potential of education… but most of them don't. Most of them...they certainly know that we [CCEs] are contract people...very clear, and immediately that sets us apart from everyone else, and maybe that's just as well. The inmates certainly see as us as not being part of CSC, and, and I think that's a very positive thing.

Retired's discovery offered him the opportunity to observe dynamics having nothing to do with individuals; but which affected them directly when they were implicated in institutional functions, operations and delivery of services. It offered the possibility of questioning the horizontal administrative authority; while doubting the efficiency of vertical outcomes.

For Believer, the conflict played out in the school represented the manifestation of a greater conflict between prison management and the unions:

> I think the [CSC] people involved, that we've had the most trouble with, if they were my neighbours, they'd probably be nice people, but because we are contract...I think it's because they're scared that their jobs are on the line. If they had to be on the contract and get the pay check, they wouldn't like it...or else there's a power struggle or something. I don't ever feel that it's directed at me as an individual, but it's at the person who is the teacher from Company X. ...the lady that I have the biggest complaints about, I feel a negativity in the school when she's there. But I don't think I would feel that somewhere else...she volunteers with the United Way, she loves animals...

Although the conflict was not personal, it is played as so. Consequently, by moving conflict from the political sphere to the personal one, it allowed for all concerned to ignore the role of policy and policy makers in determining the systemic political situation.

A local union member (Informant # 9) and another informant (#10) at the regional management level confirmed the term used in the CSC unionized staff grievance brought against the Assistant-Warden who had executed the policy decision, it was harassment. According to them, correctional officers/employees feel harassed by the presence of CCEs, harassed by the physical reminder that their jobs might also be contracted in the future. So while the issue is political and economic, the behaviours became personal and manifested themselves in harassment of the individuals who exemplify the possibility and threat of privatization and which the presence of CCEs concretizes. Believer summed the retaliation this situation promotes as the

> ...ugly side of Corrections as far as staff goes...people [prisoners] were told that we weren't real teachers when we went in. Well, we all have degrees and some had more than one degree. So, how that rumour could be perpetuated and continue to still go around? That's unprofessional...one time we went to an information meeting and it was a carefully orchestrated roast for contract staff. It was not nice, it was embarrassing and, I thought, I never want to have to go through this again.

Consequently, it is the CCEs who bear the brunt of the correctional employees' frustration and misguided anger which should be better directed at the policy-makers and politicians.

Ultimately, to fit in and protect their livelihood the CCEs have to endure silently, as did Woman:

> It [prison] is the most stressful place in the world to work in. And I think when you work in there [prison school] on a contractual basis, you lose even that little bit of support that you need to get through those days.

If not complaining is one thing, there is also another aspect to silence revealed by Believer:

> ...I didn't know who I could say anything to, about the trouble with work...I didn't want it to come back at me...normally, you [professionals, CCEs] have to be covering up - "oh no, everything is fine". We [CCEs] had to do that for awhile...put up with that garbage... I'll never have a worse situation.

The lack of support, the complexity of professionalism and the complicity of silence contribute to keeping the status quo and allow further deterioration of working relationships and conditions. I asked Knight: "What would fix the situation?"

> K: That's pretty hard to fix.
>
> A: But Company X has tried to improve the conditions for teachers?
>
> K: Constantly, in the negotiations with CSC and we have been given lots of promises and lots of dates [about changes] but those dates and promises have never been fulfilled.
>
> A: Have teachers ever considered walking out?
>
> K: No! No, they just look for other work or quit.

The similarities to other forms of abusive relationships are striking: the victims first isolated, grow increasingly afraid and silenced to their own detriment. And, most remained in the abusive situation or found another job for which they required referrals. This might explains why individual CCEs have not so far brought a charge of harassment in the workplace against CSC staff or a collective claim to the attention of the provincial and federal labour relations agencies. This silence perpetuated the existing conditions and precludes change.

## Summary

This has chapter has provided a glimpse of how the CCEs experienced prison on their orientation to it and explained their response to privatization as marginalization with its professional implications. These CCEs presented themselves, as marginalized and harassed and illustrated how they had remained isolated in their experience by silence.

The teachers who became CCEs were full of goodwill; but they were hooked by the fear of appearing unprofessional in refusing to conform to demands and expectations of the prison and its agents while protecting the interests of the contractor. Their prior professional socialization had become their "mind-forged prison" conflicting with rationality. The more they remained silent and compliant to stay in, the more they became "correctionalized and also marginalized": employed but marginal to the external teaching profession. At this stage in my analysis, the CCEs appeared "prisonized." But were they? I return to this question.

First, these CCEs had entered settings representing the existing structures of the prison and Company X. Situated activities depicted face-to-face interactions with individuals who symbolize authority, such as the Chief of Educations (COE), the Teacher-Coordinators (TCs), or representatives of Company X, or of the function of education: peers and students. Second, the participants experienced conflicts which were simultaneously political, professional, individual and ethical in keeping with the cultural symbiosis of the prison environment. Finally, these conflicts also challenged their self-perceptions.

Self-perceptions represented the established identity of these teachers and their acquisition was linked to their biographies; therefore, prison responses were modulated by the individual's previous socialization processes. However, even if varied understanding of the professional work ethic could entail difference, it did not prevent certain patterns to emerge. Self-perceptions had motivated the CCEs' entry into correctional education and justified their decision to stay or leave as a result of individual inner conflicts. Thus, the lived experience revealed how the symbolic interactions and strategies resulted not only in bureaucratic, educational and social conflicts but also in inner conflicts. Awareness of settings, situated activities, and Self opened up the options of the participants. This new vision would help them break the cycle of prison control and silence and made possible the disclosure of individual practices to resist the "prisonization" process and prison in the greater social sense. The participants had broken the first dictate of prison: they thought independently.

To conclude this chapter, I will say that the experience of CCEs was characterized by four phases:

1. Pre-entry ignorance/innocence;

2. Entry and re-socialization;
3. Awareness of marginalization
4. Leaving or staying: staying [for now]

Although, the four (4) phases identified here appear sequential they were not in fact linear. They overlapped to a certain degree like a coil and looped back into their experiences. What appears here was a rational reconstruction of the dynamic of entry.

The tension in each of phase was due to behavioural and emotional changes reflecting more than a cognitive process of logical reasoning; in fact their reasoning seems to have little to do with it. Although it was possible to act without thinking or feeling, and to think without reflecting, feeling or learning; it was seemingly impossible for them to critically think or reflect without learning and feeling. So, when empirical evidence or personal experience contradicted or failed to match the correctional or corporate arguments, the *CCEs started to scrutinize and recognize the assumptions underlying these beliefs and behaviours to justify their own interpretations and actions.* But, more importantly, they came to realize that *they had to judge the rationality of their own justifications.* This shift in awareness will be the focus of the next chapter and is clearly linked to emancipatory possibilities.

# CHAPTER 7

# THE PARTICIPANTS TALK OF THEIR REALITY

Chapter Six described the setting and rituals in the employment of contracted correctional educators (CCEs) and how participants' individual reactions contributed to their own marginalization. This chapter deals with how these participants attempted to cope professionally while working under conditions of control, commodification and marginality imposed by privatization and how they started to analyse the constraints of this marginalization.

The participants, as CCEs who stayed, explained their situation in different ways demonstrating that they had analyzed their individual situation, on their own. However, their previous socialization also led them to realize the precariousness of their employment as workers and as professional teachers as members of a marginal group. In their individual interviews each of the participants articulated the effects of prison in relation to others and upon themselves; and evaluated the nature, scope and effects of the prison and of privatization on teachers.

This was their reality and it was important for the participants to identify why in spite of their best efforts and attitude problematic employment and educational conditions prevail. The two perspectives reveals how and when they become critical the institutional and corporate discourses and explains why they wanted to speak out for change, as workers and as teachers.

CCEs entered the prison as *contracted workers* engaged by Company X. Their contracts reflected the measure of their worth and validated their socially defined life-styles. Material rewards had to meet CCEs' needs. Therefore, it was not surprising that CCEs began their analysis of their situations from an economic perspective, it was a pragmatic response to their employment situation.

As experienced teachers, the participants compared and contrasted their contracted employment situation to their previous employments. Five of six participants concluded they had done themselves a professional disservice: privatization, in addition to affecting professional identity, reduced income, security of employment, security dynamics of prison and loyalty to the contractor. Discovering that they were not entitled to the same protection, privileges and rewards as in their previous employments, they saw themselves as commodities.

For four of these CCEs privatization had serious implications on their future employment as aging teachers. They uncovered how working in a prison school affected women differently than men, and, when they realized how the experience affected them personally, they began questioning the politics of privatization and of correctional education. The following themes emerged from their open-ended interviews.

## I. As Workers

### 1. Financially Independent CCEs

The CCEs' constant complaint since 1994 was salary. This was the main point of contention in the Company X's Staff Satisfaction Surveys of 1995 and 1998. Overall, the primary reason of participants to accept a CCE position was income needs. In this aspect there was a demarcation between CCEs who could be independent of this income and those who depended on it. However, even when rationalized, the altruistic commentaries of those who were independent came to support the fact that salary and benefits were inadequate.

Believer, hired in 1998, started at $29,000. She was not concerned about salary and she knew it was less than she could have earned elsewhere: "I didn't have to worry about that...and at the time I wasn't really looking at the benefits because my husband had benefits..." and there were benefits:

> I think it was $200 for glasses every year for kids up to the age of 18 and for adults it's every second year - which is good. Dental...I think it's 85% or something like that. You've probably heard it from other people and then prescriptions you pay $7 and the [insurance] company pays the rest. And then I think $500 for the extra things like chiropractor and massage therapy and a few things like that. So it seemed to be quite decent.

Subsequently, she clarified the basis of her opinion and added: "my financial life is quite secure and I own my house, I'm very fortunate that way. Now for some teachers, it can make a big difference...Maybe I'll change my tune, I'm not a good person to ask about this...". Then reflected "...I'm thinking...I had to plan a budget. I haven't lived on a budget for a long time. I figured out that with what I earn, I could live all right on my own, but with my kids...I would have to rely on some other money." Finally she concluded that "...I'd have problems. But, you try to live within your means...for somebody trying to make car payments and a baby coming along and all that kind of stuff [young couples or single parent go through], it would be hard."

Visionary tiptoed around this issue. She kept moving away from the subject and appeared uncomfortable. When asked directly if the issue was too personal, she initially agreed that it was. Later, voluntarily returning to the issue and stating her $27,000 starting salary, she quickly attempted to establish justifications that "...[Company X] they're private...Now going back historically, at one time public boards...city public boards would not recognize any experience that you had in outside boards...Now, it's the same I suppose, if you begin no matter what the profession..." Finally, in returning over and over to the topic, she ended up providing a lengthy and detailed confirmation that for Company X, salary is an issue affecting retention and recruitment:

> ...what is being addressed now is young people...and we [Company X]/I know [Company X] we're addressing that now in terms of maintaining staff, and [Company X] we're doing a lot of

> comparison...so it's interesting because the private corporations now have to say, well, how are we going to attract, and how are we going to maintain..., and I think the recognition is there that we [Company X] have to have incentives...And so they're (Company X's administrators) looking at that incentive and monitor[ing] return...
>
> The other incentive [for staff] of course, is research and development… professional development which is being worked on, and it's coming along favourably...
>
> We [employees] do get the benefits, now the only one that's lacking is the pension plan...If we compare to Adult Ed[ucation], do you know that the benefits are on par because everything's looked after except the pension plan...the amount you save from professional fees...you could work into a pension fund...
>
> The other side of the coin to public situations [where] in some cases teachers have to engage in extra curricular activities/They have to mark copious amounts/They have to do reports/They have parent involvement, not only interviews, but they have to be there when the parents/call them for interviews when they have to meet with parent/the parent councils now/ whole dynamic of public education is so demanding/So if you were a young person, say, well/ not even young/but anyway, if you were conscientious, do you know that you could moonlight quite favourably? You could teach a class at Continuing Ed[ucation] where/or you could take a class because you don't have those evening commitments that you do when you're with other jurisdiction...in a sense you could even fare out much better because with corrections/correctional education you have built in time/so you can do your curriculum work…besides, you know? With us we're out of there!!!/We can't stay there [prison] longer than about 4:10, we're out... [at her site].

So, while Believer was in a comfortable and secure financial position prior to becoming a CCE, her private change of financial circumstances [having to make a budget] led her to re-evaluate income and benefits. For Visionary, it was age that seemed to create the demarcation in needing secure present and future financial security. As a person who had faced retirement in the public system and who had no desire to retire from teaching, she pointed out the advantages of teaching in prison: regular hours, no parent-teacher interviews, no extracurricular activities and gaining more personal time sounded advantageous...until she talked of moonlighting. If one to be conscientious about present and future financial stability had to moonlight, then something was definitively, economically wrong with the current situation.

The reference to Adult Education was misleading and erroneous. Nine public informants provided me with information and documentation of conditions, full-time salaries and benefits proving that the six institutions previously known as the Alberta Vocational Colleges, and NAIT, SAIT, and Grant McEwen College were a long way off above what she called Company X's "comparable" ones. However, great diversity exists and without knowing how the corporate comparison was made it is impossible to fully argue the point because *a public institution might exist that does compare*.

Visionary had been careful to avoid blaming Company X, she had used "we" to show support for other CCEs and to imply her insider knowledge of corporate strategies and development.

As a public school retiree and ex-Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA) member, Retired did address his decision to teach for Company X. He was very direct and factual in evaluating the situation. Right after talking about his recruitment and hiring process, he stated "it's a different situation than in the public school systems, you know, in terms of salary, and benefits, and there's essentially no comparison but people make choices. If I didn't want to be there I wouldn't be there 'cause I don't have to be there. There are other things I can do…." His independence reflected his existing financial stability.

He also pinpointed how the lack of interest from the ATA works to the advantage of Company X:

> I'm on full pension, and I collect that pension, and teaching there [prison] has no impact on my pension because ATA doesn't/they (Company X) hire people with certification, but ATA doesn't care...You don't pay any ATA fees, you don't pay into ATA pensions, so ATA doesn't care. So I'm not limited to working a maximum of 120 days like in the public school system. Just work full time...doesn't matter at all to my pension. If it did, then I wouldn't [work there], that's that simple.

Retired was also keenly aware of the implications of the indifferences between the public and private sector:

> I knew that their (Company X) pay scale was quite a bit lower...school year is 230 days long in the penitentiary and the regular system it's under 200 now...substantially less than 200. From what I can see, they (Company X's teachers) get about 60% of the pay that they do in the public school system. I appreciate the fact that Company X is a private company and they've got to make as much money as they can, and I don't know how much they (Company X) make [on the contract]. I don't care... I think for myself it's sort of irrelevant, and people do make their own choices.

Even if the conditions were irrelevant to him, he could speculate that it might be different for his colleagues:

> Most people there [at the school] have spouses that work at something else, and they're sort of the second income. Most people like it at the penitentiary for a number of reasons, but I'm surprised: a lot of people [teachers] just stay there for the year until they find something that pays 40% more than what they're making. Myself...if I didn't like it, and I started disliking it tomorrow or the day after, I'd quit because I can get along [financially] without it...but we have a couple of people,

> that's their primary source of income, and it's got to be pretty disheartening when you [they] take a look, and for more days [of work] in you [they] get 40% less pay it's got to be... Yet they're there and they're doing a good job, and that seems almost like Company X takes advantage of that situation. But, like I said, it's a personal choice. If you don't want to be there, then you don't have to be there…I'm surprised that they (Company X) can retain good staff, and I can only speak, well...I'm surprised that they (Company X) can retain good staff offering the wages that they offer because they recognize no experience other than that with them.

If Retired implied a willingness on the contractor's part to take advantage of the workers, he also placed the ultimate responsibility for the decision to work under these conditions upon individual choice. However, he had first assumed that everyone knew what he knew of the public system after over 30 years in it. Then, he had revised his position and reconsidered some facts because he knew that privatization, as a political decision, was detrimental to the teachers:

> They [schools] used to be contracted through [name of the local school division], all the teachers were hired through the local school division. They were ATA members. They were paid on the same salary grid, and it [privatization] was a cost saving measure...and privatization gets to be a bandwagon with some governments; and that's what happens...
>
> I didn't appreciate Company X's set-up [before] other than I knew for a long time that it was a privately run company...but I had no idea at all of the impact. I know that a number of people left because their salaries really, really dropped...that's a downside to privatization.
>
> …and I have a little bit of difficulty with the federal government sort of allowing that to happen, and letting it happen, because they [policy makers] certainly would not have a hope of doing that if it were CSC staff...there would be people [unions] that would almost shut them [schools] down immediately, but the school is just a small part of it, and I don't think the government particularly sees it as an important part. If the government did, I think things might be a little bit different, but it's hard to say. But we'll see...
>
> …like I say, I can't speak for any institution other than [name deleted], and in terms of salary, and stuff [benefits] I think they [Company X] have better people [teachers] than what they deserve.

It became evident that an outsider looking in or even a teacher could have missed these discrepancies. It was only with time, while comparing past and present personal experience, that Retired had reassessed the financial impact of privatization as other factors emerged for his consideration. This reconsideration affected him when we hear his original indifference being replaced, by concerns.

The participants had made references to choice. They seemed to have earned a certain measure of financial security so this might facilitate acceptance of the explanations and employment package. However, they were not provided with information so how could they make an informed decision when even the web site was silent about them. For the other participants, the pluses had to outweigh the minuses to make the choice palatable and reasonable. Often, local employment options were limited or restricted and financial obligations or dependants had to be considered. So, what did those dependent upon their current salaries say about their employment?

### 2. Financially Dependent CCEs

Woman, who was returning to work and looking for a teaching position, said "...because of my age, I had lots of difficulty finding a school that would accept me." She faced the fact that "...I needed work and I took it" and she set herself to the task to the best of her abilities. In spite of her misgivings, she "...stayed because of the school [for her child]...the mortgage...you get kind of sunk into things and it becomes very difficult to take yourself back out."

She provided further information into the benefits: "...there's also that business of insisting that it's a twelve month contract...after the first year, you only get two weeks [vacation]...after that you can get six weeks..." In doing so, she exposed the reality of another group of teachers, yet unmentioned: "…in that six week space you have to cope with inexperienced people, with subs[titute teachers],...at a rate of pay which is so cheap" [$106/day]. These substitutes are usually fully qualified; some are retired teachers and some are active teachers looking for permanent employment. Signing on as substitutes, they can be offered full-time employment. Most career-oriented teachers re-enter the public stream.

Knight had not spoken about the financial aspects of privatization, but he acknowledged that salaries were much lower than in the public system. However for him, this was countered by the fact that he felt he could do more for the students now than when he had been teaching junior high. This bias against junior high school was shared among the CCEs.

Traveller had also worked outside the public education system with adults. She provided a better comparison:

> ...I had $29,000 when I started at [institution name deleted]...I lost a lot. I lost when I started. I make sixty cents for every dollar I would have made in my last job, and of course then there were no benefits, and no pension. I had a matching pension at the last [place] that I worked where you contributed and the employer would match. So I lost a huge amount and the loss is getting worse because I would have gone up more, right, and I'm class 6 teacher (ATA), so I'm at the top of the teaching scale, so the loss is huge, yeah, the loss is huge...and that's a problem, that's a big problem for me. That's why... sometimes I think, well/I often think about quitting, not necessarily to go to a [public school] teaching job here [town name deleted]...

She was aware of the realities of offering services for fees and like Retired, was more realistic about the longevity of employment. However, if the financial impact of privatization was voiced as "…often very demoralizing that I could be making so much more money if I was in the public system." Another aspect remained unnamed: "…then I often think well, maybe I will in a few years, maybe I'll do this, or maybe I'll do that..." She appeared uncertain, her energy was sapped and her career was arrested.

Gradually, she revealed other factors influencing her future as a teacher: her professional worth, prison stigmatization and her own dispositions, preferences and apprehension about the public system:

> Well, from the likelihood of getting in [Public Schools], I think that my chances go down just because I get more experience in the prison. I become more expensive, although I get less money for being in the prison, because now I have seven years of experience when I apply for a job as opposed to five. So it makes it harder for me to get into the public system, unless for some reason I have skills that make them really want to hire me...like working with troubled youth. So I would end up in a tough job in the public system, I'd end up in an outreach school, maybe...actually I really like that idea. I've always had a tough job. I'm used to having a tough job, you know, that seems to be my specialty in some weird sort of way. But I never think about what it would be like to work in a public system because, you know, I have never worked in the public system, I've always worked on [deleted]...
>
> I'm not really, in some ways, very interested in working in the public system because I perceive the public system as a big fat bureaucracy that is just kind of stupid in many ways. Whereas in [deleted], you always have a lot of flexibility because you just have one school with one administration on the top, and if you want to make a change, and I have made changes, I've started up programs, and all sorts of thing, and I like that. So, the idea, to me, of going to a public system even before I taught this job would be whoa! you know, get a load of this! I'm going to be a public school teacher now, this is going be quite wild but in other ways, I know it would be a lot easier.

If Traveller recognized that it would be easier to go to the public system, she also knew it would curb her autonomy.

Even when Traveller had been affiliated with the ATA she had remained basically politically uninvolved. Adult Education is on the periphery of public education and so are Adult Educators in the ATA. So, another aspect of professional vulnerability was exposed:

> I've always been an associate member of ATA...So I'm not very up on my rights because I never really had a lot of rights. I've always had a contract that is subject to be terminated at any time for anybody, if anybody is in a bad mood that could be the end of your day. So I'm used to working with a certain degree of [uncertainty]...I've always

> been paid like I was in the ATA, but I haven't been treated like I was in the ATA. So I will...there will be teachers in our school now that will be all hung up on their rights about something, and to me it's like a novelty. Oh, is that a right we have? I'm not/I don't think in the rights language because I never really had rights. ... it is [the nature of] my employment. I have no loyalty to Company X, per se, or any other contractor, and I'm used to living at the whims of somebody's good or bad humour, so it's sort of irrelevant to me, you know.

Enduring workplace uncertainty led to prioritizing teaching and education over ego, it also altered loyalty and sensitized her to politics in the work place.

Each participant in drawing the balance sheet between past and current situations was realistic about the economics of the situation. In doing so, CCEs revealed factors making them responsive to recruitment and susceptible to diminution as educators: indifference, age, search for professional actualization and agency, desire for autonomy and lack of strong identification within the provincial professional associations. However, the same factors provided different lenses for the CCEs to continue the dispassionate evaluation of their working situation.

### 3. Reassigned Labourers

A diminishing aspect of privatization was manifested in the practice of re-assigning CCEs to the kitchens during lock-downs[15]. This re-assignment fell under "other related duties" in Company X's employment contract. All the participants had "read about it" or "heard about it," but only three had ever *experienced it* and they had diverging opinions and responses to this institutionally enforced re-assignment.

Visionary stated that "during lock-down we all [school personnel] pitch in with the kitchen. We all have to help because of the offenders...It's hilarious! Well that is...we [teachers] enjoy it because it gives us, you know…we can eat in the cafeteria[16] and so on and so forth, but you know what it does, it bonds [with CSC staff] and remember...the pioneering…"

She made the reassignment sound like a voluntary decision to assist in a communal effort promoting solidarity between groups. In fact, reassigning is an administrative decision over which teachers have no say. Contractually, they have to do it or quit. Visionary made light of being reassigned, found the kitchen experience hilarious and used a collective voice to express agreement and compliance rewarded by eating in the CSC cafeteria. She did not appear to realize that this was also a local perk for the prisoners working in the kitchens. Blinded by access to an area usually out of bound to teachers, she failed to grasp that her professional services have been further devalued; and she trapped herself in the pioneering myth of breaking new ground and making new alliances. Yet, the alliance is worthless in the educational enterprise; CSC kitchen staff might be appreciative of the work provided to feed locked up prisoners but their appreciation has no impact outside the kitchen and cafeteria.

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[15] 'Lock downs' are periods when the institutions function at a basic level and during which prisoners are confined to their cells usually following security incidents.

[16] The CSC cafeteria provides CSC employees with meals per their collective agreement. When at Drumheller, I purchased meal vouchers to access the cafeteria or ate my own lunch in the school. At EIFW there was no cafeteria but there was a lunch room which I accessed with the correctional staff. At another institution where I volunteered, I was first provided with a meal delivered to my location. Later, when I volunteered over extended days or weeks, I ate in the Cafeteria while Company X employees ate in the school.

Visionary deluded herself and became, in all sense of the word, a handmaiden carrying on the work of others and becoming a kitchen maid concretized her servitude to CSC and to Company X's interests. Maybe she knew it. Maybe her hilarity allowed her to deny this knowledge of being a commodity or allowed her to save face by putting up a front, by apparently making light of the practice.

Woman did not miss the connection when it happened at her site. She indignantly reported that

> ...we [contract teachers] had to work in the kitchen....we worked in the kitchen as cooks...that's where they [prison authority] placed us. So we became the cooks, dishwashers in the kitchen...spent eight hours a day in that kitchen, getting meals together for the inmates. This [reassignment happened]…because we were CCEs and Company X was being paid even if we could not teach during the lock-down. So CSC had to get their money's worth out of us.

The bittersweet realization of being a paid labourer was evident. The irony was that Woman had "…worked hard to get out of the kitchen and get educated" while Visionary had refused to "…stay home and do nothing." Now, they both had been sent back to the kitchens.

The gender bias shadowed the reassignation. Two male participants who experienced reassignation mentioned that they were given other essential duties (e.g., running the mail between the prison buildings or alternatively, light maintenance) and did not have to enter the kitchens.

That "prison comes first" is not a novelty; but the extent to which Company X pandered to this, indicated a relationship precluding protection of the teachers they procured. Visionary, Company X's most uncritical teacher, unwittingly revealed the unique position in which CCEs found themselves "…at the mercy of the institution; ...you have to know exactly your boundaries as a [C]CE; you have your parameters because the bottom line is accountability and budgeting, and so that's what's important [to Company X]."

Reassigning teachers to become cooks and kitchen helpers raises questions. First, they have not been provided with proper training in Health and Safety procedures. Second, the CCEs didn't have the required medical exams and vaccinations to work in food preparation. Third, they handled food without knowing Board of Health regulations for institutional/commercial food preparation. So, both

CSC and Company X could face labour issues and litigation in case of an accident or in case of food poisoning (WCB representative, December 12, 2000).

Company X's Personnel Policies and Procedures Handbook (1994), Item VII, Conditions of Work, 5 and 5.1 addressed the issue of "reassignment by consultation and with consideration of employees' wishes" (p. 22). This consultative process was not evident to the participants, instead the re-assignments appeared arbitrary: no one asked them; they had signed the contract binding them and other duties were assigned or else. Furthermore, Item IX, Security, 3.2 shifts responsibility for obtaining training upon the Teacher-Coordinators (p. 24) yet, in a state of emergency there is no time for such training.

Being paid for services, the contractor abdicated his obligations and his employees were left to their own devices to obtain the training necessary for their safety in fulfilling what was euphemistically designated as "other assigned duties." Consequently, the obedience of the CCEs implied consent to this re-assignment and jeopardized their legal protection.

Even if each CCEs had read their contract carefully before signing it, they could not have been aware of the full implications of this clause, until they lived it. Again, this appears to place the blame on the CCEs. As teachers and workers, they were used to signing contracts after perusing what should be in it. They expected the contract to reflect public norms, legislation and to respect their rights equally.

Usually, the offer of employment provides a job description; and the negotiation of salary; and reviewing the benefits and contract are guided by a Human Resources administrator prior to signing the final agreement to make sure of complete understanding. According to participants, for Company X, Prairie Division, this process is minimal. When the employment offer is made on the heels of an interview, there is limited time to ask questions and make a decision, while simultaneously being expected to dissect a 25 pages contract. Furthermore, a job description is not supplied until one enters the institution [in one case a written job description provided at the site pre-dated the contractor]; so variations to previously loose verbal job descriptions commonly occurred.

In the hiring of participants, the VP handled the hiring decisions and processes. This is why CCEs saw their employment relationship to be more representative of their relationship with him, rather than with an abstract entity called Company X. Consequently, disappointments were felt more keenly because they were increasingly becoming personal.

### 4. Aging Workers

CCEs became aware of the age factor early in their experience. Ageism was an explanation for the age demographics of the CCEs. Ageism, or discriminating against someone on the basis of age, took a new meaning when it favoured the hiring of aging teachers because as Visionary confirmed "they [Company X] had teachers that had lots of experience, that were older, there seem to be very, very little problem with the inmates and the teachers, and they [contractor] wanted to continue that because they saw some sort of correlation between age and order."

Traveller mentioned the security, maturity and the authority age could confer: "...I always tell them [students] how old I am right away, so that they sort of...separate themselves from me." However, for other CCEs, aging had different implications.

For Visionary, aging had brought the unwanted prospect of retirement:

> I'm probably one of these people who...the word retirement means different things to different people and I have a feeling, and again, nothing is really that definite/but there are different ways of exploring/other ways of becoming involved/and being very professional/and so...you know/you could make lateral moves/you could make moves that challenge you in different areas...You mentioned the word retirement, retirement means many things to different people, you know/You're probably thinking of the term, the classic where you sit and you stay home and you golf all day or something...or...

Aside of her assumption of the meaning of retirement to me, she echoed the desire to meet growth-provoking challenges. Thus, in spite of distance, her comments connected with Believer's realization that with aging motivational changes occur:

> I'm 45, I'd like to work until I'm 60, and hey, what can we do with this? I'd like to see that school - what can I contribute? I certainly don't have all the answers, but I'd like to help...but we've made a lot of good changes already with it. So that I think is a nice challenge and later on in life a person should take a challenge.

Woman pointed out that ageism provided economic and political advantages to the contractor because "...a lot of the teachers that [site deleted] uses now are retired school teachers, who come in for 'pin money' [extra cash]. [name deleted], she does the same thing, she's already got her pension."

Ageism, as a hiring strategy favouring the hiring of retired teachers, was resented by participants who were still trying to develop their career in order to secure employment and attain the financial security necessary to ensure their own retirement. They identified the practice as a confirmation of the lack of upward mobility and of the fact that retired teachers were less likely to demand benefits and raise issues of promotion and development because they had already attained career goals before retiring. They were more resentful of the lack of opportunities to reach professional and financial goals and they provided examples of how, in changing its hiring trend, Company X had divided the employees' interests and undermined their political power.

### 5. Endangered Workers

Incidences of prison violence are varied and can endanger lives. In the prison there were constant reminders of danger. First, all personnel has to wear a personal alarm device (PPA). For the six participating CCEs this PPA was issued by Security on the way to the school. However, I was surprise to find out that three of the participants did not know that PPAs are encoded so that activation of the alarm is displayed on a Security screen indicating where trouble is occurring and to whom (Informants 2, 3, 5). Second, CCEs heard about prison violence. Third, they witnessed violence because school was a place where drama occurred when violence was played out. Fourth, they were themselves subjected to violence because even the school was not exempt from violence and they could be indirectly or directly involved.

Traveller recalled how a peer had become "very skittish" after

> this inmate who's been in the [classroom name deleted] for a long, long time, kind of flipped out one day...then the next day he [inmate] was in the hole because apparently he had a big long blade...that he was packing [carrying]. He did flip out and that was like, 'whoa!' for his teacher who felt he had come close…

Woman had also experienced close violence and she felt unable to adequately respond and vulnerable even within the existing institutional safety procedures. She contributed

> …last summer, it got extremely violent. For some reason, the school seemed to be the place where all the attacks were occurring. We (CCEs) were pushing the PPAs and nobody was responding...There were some extremely serious beatings...three or four beatings...a hellish summer...There were at least four different times where somebody [students] got severely beaten in the school. Blood all over...and fights… [teacher's name deleted] was seriously involved...she kept pushing the alarm and pushing and nobody came…and this guy was bleeding, he was laying on the floor, and they [we, CCEs and TC] couldn't get anybody [from Security] to respond.

This might explain why Visionary after witnessing and experiencing violence denied and internalized their effects:

> I have seen everything...from a beating and...to everything…; but not only that, I have been threatened when I arrived from [of] being taken as a hostage… I was the first to walk on when the offender was lying there in a pool of blood, out cold unconscious with his head kicked in. I have seen the actual beating [name deleted], where the…where offenders had... smuggled in an iron rod and when they put this in the pillow case and were...two were kicking and...I mean...I have seen everything…Uh...one of our students was the one who was murdered...Uh...I have seen it, you name it, I have seen it, yeah, yeah…

As she talked, Visionary provided neuro-linguistic clues to her internal state: she became pale, her eyes rapidly shifted from side to side and her hesitations in wording the incident were significant. While her tone gradually lowered; as it did, so did her eyes; and then her head dropped until she murmured the word "murdered." The emotions were close and evident but remained unspoken as she strained to remain in control. She had recalled, described, witnessed, and revealed the professional link between herself and the victim in a little more than four lines and it took her half a line to recoup. Then, as she regained composure, her tone and her head raised.

These six CCEs were always at risk of violence and they attempted to cope with this fact. Firstly, they negated that it affected them or that they worked in danger. Secondly, they rationalized the experience in the context of other experiences. Thirdly, they justified, as did Visionary when asked how violence had affected her:

> No, no, I have seen everything. Um..not at all..not at all [affected]. Uh...I have the strategies of...and coping mechanism, I have seen disconnected youth, remember where I worked [in the past], I had youth that had carried knives and things...*You see*, I have those skills and I am able to...you know…to...I'm a professional. And I have the ability to...to compartmentalize, to isolate...basically...if..if you're a professional you have to...You have to be able to...have your boundaries.

Her insistence on being professional (10x) and of having boundaries (4x) reappeared through her interviews considerably more often than in any of the other participants who mentioned professionalism only 1 to 3 times. She had indeed applied her coping strategies "to compartmentalize, to isolate" and "tuned in and tuned out." However, when the memories of very disturbing and traumatic incidents were juxtaposed and aligned the struggle to remain professional on the surface revealed that the stress remained unaddressed.

Insisting, as she did, did not convince me that she suffered no ill-effect or that she was immune to prison violence. After her justification and the attempt to gain validation [in the last four lines] her body language and tone regained strength they gradually returned to a quasi-normal state. Her internal dialogue became a mantra (I) needing a validation (You) that I was unwilling to provide.

All the participants recalled experiencing violent events which disturbed them and to which they responded in various emotional ways ranging from rational denial to tears and shaking. The three that remain show how these descriptions of events could be used as learning devices because they painted such graphic pictures. Like the illustrations used by Freire (1970), they fostered decoding, critical thinking and reinterpretation. Furthermore, as CCEs described violence, their emotions surged and their bodies reacted. Three people acted out the movements of pressing the alarm button, four turned their heads away, as if deflecting a blow or a sight; five closed their eyes, as if the scene was actually happening now; and three broke down at the end of their depictions. All were visibly paler and their breathing became shallower.

One shook violently. Five appeared surprised at their own reactions and two apologized for them. Three participants requested deletions of the passages. The incidents had not been debriefed nor processed and apparently, some post-traumatic stress remained.

Synchronicity in research is fortuitous and offers triangulation possibilities. Traveller has mentioned the "skittish" response of one of a peer. During all the years since I entered the prison [1994-2006] I have encountered only one CCE (Informant 14, at the ACEA Conference, February 1999) who spoke of ever having been debriefed by a prison psychologist following a violent incident. At the time, in an informal group conversation about what it meant to be a CCE "in trouble," he had shared his experience of having "an inmate put a blade to his throat [he was nicked]." However, he shared how in spite of his reporting of the incident, institutional or legal charges could not be laid because he *could not find a witness to corroborate the incident.* During the document research, his resignation letter revealed how he felt in the aftermath of the incident and absence of peer support: "…I was more hurt by the fact that another human being would not help me, than by the initial threatening act." However, a memo from his TC shortly after the incident indicated that he was "skittish" and that "anxiety undermines his performance." As such, these comments could signal that the next round of performance review would have eliminated him.

A similar sense of impotent vulnerability was reflected in the other incidents where CCEs' lives had been jeopardized. There seemed to be an institutional lack of regard for the life of prisoners and of one other undesirable group, the CCEs. If the immediacy, frequency, and brutality of the attacks mentioned by Woman reinforced the sense of CCEs' vulnerability; there was a lack of response from prison, from education authorities and amongst CCEs contributing to the confirmation of disposability. Five participants concurred that when safety concerns were voiced, prison personnel had reminded them: "What do you expect? You're in a prison…" while Company X, or their supervisor asked "Do you think this is where you want to work?" In other words, shut up or leave. This attitude appears callous: it denies the basic need for safety that they cannot provide or guarantee.

## II. As Professional Teachers

As professional teachers; all the participants were qualified to comment upon the school, correctional education contents and outcomes, and the implications of its privatization.

### 1. The School

School in prison is a semi-normal environment. Normal features found in public school were evident: teachers, secretary, students, classrooms, books, but even if uniformed officers were invisible, the prison still influenced all of its activities.

While hours of operation varied from site to site, other factors were standard in the prison landscape. All CCEs wore identification tags and personal protection alarms (PPA) and movement in and out of the school was monitored by security measures. But more revealing to these teachers was that students' attendance was secondary in importance to other prison activities such as medical, visitation, court, Parole Board hearings, payday or even haircuts which overlapped upon schooling time. From the teaching perspective these activities were seen as interference in the educational process. In public schooling of children and adults, teachers intervene if students start to be distracted by their personal affairs. However, in the prison schools, participants had learned to accept these bureaucratic and operational interruptions as necessary ones.

In prison, the CCEs discovered that the school is not self-contained it extends and contracts to meet needs. So, some teachers end up going to places with very different features and atmosphere than the public or institutional schools. Such spaces include the Hole, the segregated area of protective and disciplinary custody and the Units, the cell blocks where the inmates reside. Reception is the cell block where the newly transferred prisoners acclimate themselves to the characteristics of the institutional setting and where the TCs are expected to provide either testing or an orientation to the School program. The Hospital and the Mental Health Unit are medical units. Each of these setting has different protocols, practices, and codes of behaviour which must be mastered by them to be successful in their role.

If from the experiences of the participants, the school was an arena of conflict between individuals representing different interests, as was the case with Knight and his COE in Chapter Six; it was also a theatre where interpretations of the script, personage, and value of teaching and CCEs were played and clashed. As shown in Chapter Five, the files of those who left indicated serious inter-personal conflicts at all sites except for two. The two exceptions might be explained: there was only one full-time teacher at each of these sites.

### 2. Schooling for Literacy

In the estimation of the participants, the quantity and the quality of education provided at their site was less than what the Mission Statement and the mandated script of education had led them to expect. All schools appeared affected to various degrees. All the participants reported that equipment and resources were outdated, that content was restricted and inadequate, and that materials were in short supply and obsolete.

Computers[17] were sorely missed in the context of a society where everything is becoming increasingly computerized. They saw this lack of exposure to a necessary technology, as one major drawback in the schooling process: it was too limited to be effective and to be of significant importance in affecting rehabilitation and re-integration. Some showed how education had been narrowed to schooling for literacy or how education was coercive while others said space is inadequate. Five participants believed the speeches and administrative kudos were part of the systemic cover-up affecting accountability and achievement while posing serious ethical questions. All participants strived to compensate for these deficiencies and talked about how they had individually attempted to raise above the limitations of the environment through their approaches, development of curriculum and resources.

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[17] Some schools have computer room or computer access learning; however, if the computer or program is old, the learning is limited and outdated. Sometimes the labs are disabled. Furthermore, computers are not linked to the Internet network for reasons of Security.

Under the newest international definition of literacy (1998), Commissioner Ingstrup (Literacy 2000 Conference, May 2000) promised to raise the level of correctional education to a full Grade 12. This announcement met with approval from CCEs and praise from the advocates of prisoners' rights but encountered opposition from the correctional employees and pressures from the public and politicians. The opposition may have contributed to the surprise retirement of Commissioner Ingstrup, announced in August 2000. Correctional education had lost it strongest advocate.

The participants were aware that in today's world the low level of literacy provided is not adequate to ensure socio-economic mobility. People with only a low level of literacy should expect and do obtain a very low level of productive employment. Therefore, to reduce the risk of re-offending, something else, besides literacy, needs to be attained by prisoners participating in prison education. Inside, the dispersal of certificates helps justify prison budgets and the priorities of the administration for Literacy programs. These limitations underscored the ideological conflict faced between individual teachers as agents of conformity and as agents of social change.

### 3. A Failing Grade

All the participants complained that they never really knew where they and their students stood because there was not a definite curriculum. While some CCEs were or had been involved in developing such curriculum at their site, it remained an area of in-site contention and it had implications for student transitions to the public system.

Yet, the prison compiled annual reports of educational outcomes to establish the legitimacy of programs and the educational reputation of the Institutions. The ranking of each Institution for its educational achievement was a source of pride among the COEs, the TCs and the CCEs when they surpass previous rankings or set new standards. The value of these reports (1995-1999) was educationally unsound; given that educational testing was administered in questionable conditions and that educational choices and experiences were limited. I concluded (Barrette 1999a) that the final evaluation was more concerned with cost benefit factors and ratios than with educational achievement. Cost appeared to be the only rationalization used to justify and preserve an otherwise questionable educational enterprise.

The mandated aims of the prison schools were to prepare students for productive lives on the outside. Schooling, in prison, is categorized as work and provides the means to obtain prison benefits such as pay increases, favourable performance reviews, and positively influenced Parole decisions. So schooling is both meritocratic and coercive.

At the 2000 Literacy Conference, I found out that the Ontario region had hired an independent evaluator to "audit[18]" (Informant 27, May 1, 2000) the educational achievement of its schools and compare it to the public system. This report was not published and could not be obtained. Informant 28 (May 3, 2000) and a call to the Ontario Department of Education (Informant 29) confirmed that from the outside, the prison educational process still lacks credibility, accountability and reliability and this is one reason why transferability to the outside remains low. In addition, during the 1999 ACEA Conference Plenary Session, a senior executive clearly stated when pressed on this issue that "the educational responsibility of CSC ends with release into society"

Is it why CSC schools appear to defeat the reintegrative purpose of prison schooling by issuing institutional certificates for completion and attainment when they are unaccredited by the public education system? Is it not cruel to foster false educational expectations in student/prisoners? Duguid (1999) asserted that prison education as it is, does not open the educational doors the prisoners need to pass through to improve their social status. Yet, there are exceptions to this rule and these individuals [names withheld] were touted and paraded as examples of prison educational and rehabilitation success.

For the participants, the limited educational reality of teaching in prison resulted in professional and personal ethical and moral dilemmas. This was when individual values separated the CCEs and led them into ideological conflicts. At this point, the CCEs who stayed professed a realistic view of what could be accomplished and a strategy to overcome the inbuilt limitations.

### 4. Coping: The CCE Personage

In Goffman's dramaturgy (1957) a personage encompasses the ways by which a person present her/himself to others. A role is a function, a job, a task, a responsibility, a character. In plays, movies and books the role becomes a character. It is the actor who renders the nature, temperament, personality, disposition and morality of the character through various degrees of artistry, make-up and costume. A personage is an important, notable, public figure.

It was the two teachers with the longest careers who brought this role to light when they referred to their "personage." Visionary defined and justified her way of acting and interacting

> while working with offenders you really, really have to have a strong sense of your own *personage*...I'm so grateful because from the Warden right down, from the minute I stepped in they have

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[18] Verify means of assessments, contents, methods and tools used by the CCEs; review their norms and grading methods; and evaluate the outcomes.

> allowed...somehow accepted...and encouraged and ... given me accolades and everything *for my personage*...I'm just so grateful."

In other words she gave her observers a convincing performance: the prison school was a stage where a role was played.

Retired described how he dressed to convey the importance of his role:

> ...I wear slacks with a crease in them, a sports jacket, I don't wear a tie...I do that, and people [CSC staff] say, why/why do you bother? And I say, well, because *I'm a teacher*...and that's the way I've always been. And I say, well, I'm not going to change here...the people [CSC staff] get to know who I am. My students, they'll get to know sort of who I am. And they [students] say...'it's sort of a message that he thinks this place is sort of important. And if he thinks that's sort of important...' Well, I might be kidding everyone else in the world, but I know that's...that's part of the message that I try to convey; that it [education] is worth something to me, worth enough for me to dress up for and come here and, and everyone knows...everyone that I see when I'm walking through... everyone knows that I'm *the* teacher.

If the role of teacher provided an identity in the prison, clothing could add to this sense of identity by differentiating oneself from the prison uniforms and the green garbs of prisoners. Certain behaviours, including wardrobe choices, agreed Traveller, Woman and Believer, brought recognition and perceived rewards such as approval and acceptance. In addition, for Retired, staying in character may have provided a needed measure of security or familiarity needed to counteract the effects of entering the prison.

Visionary explained that if she didn't leave entirely who she was outside, she necessarily had to undergo a

> …change because....because of the dynamics and of course, the security components...You basically know the code of conduct. Or you might, from one segment of society...understand the code of conduct in another segment and another and another. And so, you come in with all that and so you're astute enough. And of course, this comes with all of...the seventh and eighth senses and so you know exactly how to, how to act, react; to plug in, to tune in and tune out. You're very versatile in that sense.

So, while acquired practice resulting from previous experience and socialization prepared Visionary for the prison setting; it also predisposed her to further adaptation and change.

If settings determine ways of acting, then the prison accentuated certain features and demanded the downplaying of others. This pressure on Visionary resulted in her attempt to recreate the sense of order to which she was accustomed. However, her desire to adapt also made her susceptible to coercion and cooptation: and she was increasingly grateful for the approval of the prison authorities.

The CCEs' coping strategy of acquiring a role was an interesting feature. It is a strategy of survival for people who deal with stressful situations and trauma and yet need to act, and react for extended periods of time. This performative has its closest affiliations in what happens to soldiers, front-line reporters, prison guards and victims of prolonged traumatic events, such as abuse. The danger is that the strategy can result in splitting oneself in order to fulfill the role and survive. This is "soul murder" (Shengold 1990; 2000): a fracture so deep that one cannot trust senses and perceptions and one does not consider feelings arising from situations. Soul murder short circuits reflection and precludes the re-assessment of understandings resulting in a "fractured reflexibility" (Archer 2003).

The fact that only the longest experienced teachers referred to role was interesting in itself. Was it due to years of practice rendering them unable to step out of the role or was it that the role really conveyed their true nature? What did it reveal about the other CCEs and their coping mechanisms?

### Fractures in CCEs

If the fracture of soul murder could be detected it was also hard to recognize. Sometimes, as Visionary had recalled, fracture was first noted in the students. Retired concurred that for the most part, he got "…along fabulously well with inmates; but

as soon as they see a uniform, they're cursing, and doing this and that, and being disrespectful, and they come into my classroom..., and they're the nicest people going because I'm not a threat, I'm not part of CSC." Believer concurred that

> some of the guys I could see the biggest changes in, they ended up at [name deleted]. But they could relate to the teacher, but they can't do that outside or else some of them will turn around...they don't act that way with somebody else [at the institution] and it's like 'my little angel' here! I guess there's different ways of reacting...I don't know if they [prisoners/students] can't or if it's too hard or if they care or not, but they will at least act good, for somebody.

Retired and Believer both saw the advantages of their role in establishing rapport with their students. However, were the role and personage sufficient to avoid danger? Even if he was not perceived as a threat, Retired admitted that in the case of an attack he didn't know what would happen: "...would other inmates come to your rescue? No. No...who knows?...I don't know?" False-security having been challenged, vulnerability remained tangible.

Another performative aspect in the contradictory being of the teachers emerged in the potential for victimization. Through the contracting process privatization nullified external professional status and was a source of conflict in the workplace resulting in isolation as a group and as individuals. In contracting, CCEs became a commodity and were expendable. Woman saw many CCEs come and go during her years of employment: "You're looking for work when you go in there [prison]. And I think that they [Company X] lose valuable people because they

[CCEs] burn out so fast." Retired, after one year, agreed and summed the situation when he said "it's an interesting, interesting place to work...I don't think, at the best of times, that I could last more than five years there. I just could not see me having a career in that situation. Not that I don't like it, I just, I just couldn't see it, like everyone says, it's a hell of a place to work."

Not surprisingly, as reassessments occurred over time, opinions of the employer changed. Five participants could praise individuals immediately around them, but concurred with Retired about "not liking the people I worked for as much as I did initially." When I clarified individual meanings they replied significantly "[name deleted]" was who they lost esteem for; while "Company X, at..." was who they worked for. Clearly, as their experience endured they reasoned employment and management practices such as the employment shifting to retired teachers; the reduction of the educational programs; and the increasing silence surrounding corporate activities and its corporate restructuring and gradually lost respect and trust in both the employer's representative and in the corporation.

Expressing how privatization affected her human dignity by the loss of the value of her labour Woman was also aware of doing herself a deeper disservice:

> It's the strangest process and it's so demeaning, I think by what CSC has chosen to do [privatization], for how Company X rewards you financially, for a service that you do, that they ask you to do. It's not something that you come in and bring it's been advertised, you've applied, you're a professional, you're going to go in and you're going to teach. This [teaching] is something you've prepared for. I have two university degrees and you go into this place and none of that has any value. You become like a person in the Anatomy of the Set-up...[manipulated].

However, even if they had finally separated the individual from the corporation even if it did not assuage the sense of personal and professional betrayal and guilt they felt. This was an additional source of stress which they avoided questioning too closely in order "to remain functional;" or "to avoid going nuts" as Traveller stated. This was also the reason why it needed to be pursued.

## III. As Members of the Alberta Correctional Education Association

The participants were at one point or another in their career members of their respective provincial Teachers' Associations. This exposure set their expectations once they found out that they would become members of the Alberta Correctional Education Association (ACEA). This is the professional association to which the Prairie division would pay their dues under the specifications of the contractual agreement and provision for professional development.

However, they had realized that "membership and going to the Conferences was Company X's thing," as Retired put it. Membership in ACEA and attendance of the yearly conference were very subjective. The participants reported that over the years, the Company X regional representative had "always had final decision on who would attend." In their experience his documented decision depended on such factors as distance, cash flow and in their opinion the corporate division interest and possibly, the representative's hidden agenda.

All the participants had at least one occasion to attend the Conference, two had attended every year since 1994. The rest fell in between. Their remarks indicated that they had reflected upon their expectations of the ACEA and the professional development it promoted. Only one participant remained impersonal. The others concluded that "ACEA and CCEC were Company X' affairs." In other words, the presence of the CCEs in the ACEA served the corporate advancement of Company X by [1] enhancing its profile when employees advanced new developments; organization of the ACEA Conference; or were elected to positions on the ACEA Executive Board. For example, four participants pointed out that at one time, five out of seven ACEA Executives were Company X's employees while all referred to the overlap in CCEC. In turn, this corporate presence allowed Company X to "use the conference as a showplace" [1x] to "recruit new clients" {2x) rather than "taking the opportunity to address their employees' concerns" [2x] while "in one place" [1x]. One participant was particularly dejected saying that after her first conference she had realized that: "It was the first time that I attended a professional function and my employer did not even bothered to shake my hand, talk with me or thank me." Since then, she added, "that distance has not been breached at conferences."

The Company X-ACEA relationship also benefited ACEA: [1] raising membership and revenues; [2] enhancing the Conference format and content; [3] promoting and raising the ACEA Journal publication to new standards. The relationship was mutually beneficial in establishing the Canadian Correctional Education Council (CCEC) (May 2000) which "partnered" in the Literacy 2000 Conference. Thus, and CCEs played the expected role of supportive members until they were no longer needed[19].

While one participant did not touch on this topic, comments about the fellowship within the ACEA were few but pointed to a sense of difference and alienation. Three participants could identify and referred to some differences between working and employment conditions between working in Juvenile, Provincial or Remand settings, the Blood Tribe detention and federal settings. And, four mentioned attempting to talk with other members during informal social occasions and finding that "chit chat" [3x] aside, they generally "did not want to talk shop [4x]." I could relate to this, the only person with whom I did and could discuss labour relations and ATA issues in various educational correctional settings only did it because we knew and worked with each other in previous teaching incarnations. Overall, CEs in any setting know very little of privatization

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[19] After September 2001, remaining participants indicated that they no longer "hear about them [organizations];" and that their Professional Development benefit had been cancelled as "there was no longer any money for staff development." ACEA membership spectacularly dropped from 2000-2003.

Five participants confirmed that their exchanges were mostly with other Company X's employees because "we are so different [from the other groups]" [2x] and "it is easier" [1x], "they understand" [3x], "know where it's coming from" [2]; and "can read between the line" [1]. Although they had much in common, they admitted to "avoiding personal questions" or "issues" [2x]; and to starting interactions with professional questions about programs [3x] or materials [4x] or resources to be shared [5x].

Four participants admitted to inquiring about institutional security events which made the news because they now belonged in the public domain. If escapes [3x], riots [2x], hostage taking [1] and murders [2x] could be perceived as queried out of curiosity [4x] they were also a way to garner practical information about these fearful possibilities: "what to expect" [4x]; "how to act" [1x]; "what to do" [2x]; "how to get back to normal" [3x]; and finally " what do you tell your family [4x]/ your spouse[3x] / or child[ren] [2x]." The two participants who subsequently experienced such incidences discovered that the truth of the matter had never be told: it was too individual.

Five of the six participants queried peers about "hearsays" [10x] concerning procedures [4x], practices [2x], expenditures [2x] or other acquisitions [2x] on the hope of improving their lot. Sometimes, it would result in a sharing of resources or information through the corporate [2x] or institutional channels [3x]. Otherwise, although goods never changed hands, this was an informal way to network for other resources, "to beg, borrow and steal" ideas and contacts.

## Summary

The CCEs started to analyse their situation in the prison and found themselves a devalued and vulnerable workforce. As the reality of their loss set in, they started evaluating the nature and scope of correctional education, gradually uncovering shortcomings limiting the mandated application of the Correctional Education policy. Raising conflicting values and growing concerns lead to questioning the rationale of the correctional and contractual practices. In this chapter they talked of what they had learned on their own and broke the second dictate of prison: don't talk.

In the face of prison circumstances, participants had attempted to maintain a detached professional attitude, but it was not enough to protect them. As they talked emotions raised yet, even when and while facing apparent institutional and corporate indifference and pondering their commitment in view of the violence surrounding them, they continued on and stay.

As they spoke and reflected on the immediate, they illustrate the *insanity of their achieved rationality*. Still, if they speak of vulnerability they are made to choose between silence or unemployment. In spite of the mounting evidence of the detrimental aspect of the experience and of the disservice they do themselves as professional teachers, they have difficulty accepting that they might have made an uneducated decision in accepting teaching employment in prison. At this point, the failure to adapt to the job appears to be entirely theirs because they have not yet, detached themselves from their self-expectations and continue to hang on to their self-identities. So remain functional and sane they avoid thinking about certain stress. Unless, they soon realize how they are being affected, they run the risk of becoming further victimized and eventually, "prisonized" by their own doings.

The next chapter will show how some participants became increasingly aware and start to resist "prisonization" at the prison socio-political and in their individual cognitive and affective levels.

# CHAPTER 8

# THE PARTICIPANTS' PASSION

In the previous chapters the CCEs revealed what they had learned in their correctional and privatized professional situation. These participants demonstrated how their entry and situation had provided them with opportunities to learn about the prison and its politics.

This chapter completes the documentation of the lived-experiences of the participants. It reveals when and how the participants discovered that the prison was more than the four walls inside which they toiled and what prison influences manifested themselves in their social, personal and even intimate life. The reconciliation of this knowledge demanded a shift in belief and values affecting self-definition and self-determined activities. Consequently, the participants demonstrate how they confronted their paradoxical selves and faced the outcomes. This will provide the last two stages in the critical realist process of awareness and results in the expression of their abolitionist potential. Furthermore, it initiated a process of self-awareness mitigated by the feelings and passion animating them and underscoring their decision to stay.

Woman had interpreted my motive for conducting the research and she might as well have been questioning herself:

> I guess in writing this, you're probably trying to share why people work in corrections, why women work in corrections. And I think you get beyond that cheap salary and that isolation and that lack of support from the people who hire you, because there's absolutely no communication, and you enter a different plane there...

Freire (1970) advanced the idea that all education is political. In other words, the privatized correctional education social activity or interaction is educative because it produces knowledge supporting previous knowledge or challenging it.

## I. The Political Arena

As strangers, certain prison features had political significance for the CCEs. These features included inter-groups relations; communication; borders; and sex; even when their political significance was not grasped, the CCEs were changed by their entry into the prison.

### Inter-groups Relations

In the prison, the correctional staff and the prisoners represent two polarities. These polarities were verbalized as "us and them," designating inclusion in either group. On the other hand, privatization emphasized the vulnerability of CCEs who stood outside of these polarities believing that they are a neutral group and neutral individuals. CCEs were not essential to the maintenance of the basic prison function of incarceration; nevertheless, they became caught between the two polarities in the same way that educational practices were caught between the mandates of rehabilitation and reintegration and the correctional legal obligations to provide literacy education (Barrette 1998c) to prisoners. One example that the presence of CCEs had specific political meaning was illustrated nationally.

On September 10th, 1998, CBC News Investigative Report[20] broadcasted a complaint by the Native Brotherhood[21] about the quality of education offered at Stony Mountain Institution and its questioning of the contracting process. What was really unique was that the Brotherhood's spokesperson had brought its concern to federal and provincial politicians and Aboriginal leaders' attention by asking "Why is there a second class school in the Institution?" This was picked by the newspapers. Because the prison houses a majority of Native prisoners, the issue was delicate and the situation was explosive as it had the potential to promote riots[22] across the country. Outside the prison, the coverage resulted in a volley of letters to the newspapers and to provincial and federal elected officials by invested groups and by concerned citizens querying the quality of correctional education.

Different politicians (Informant 19; Manitoba Legislative Assembly transcripts September 10-13, 1998; National Assembly transcripts September 10-13, 1998; Assembly of First Nations, September 10-14, 1998) demanded an answer. CSC had to explain the contracting process, defend the contractor and justify the credibility of the program of study to the media and to appease inmates, politicians and public alike. On September 12th, 1998, a prison spokesperson announced "that a review by a panel of internal investigators proved that CSC and Company X were educationally doing what they were supposed to be doing [sic]." He justified the methods and contents of correctional education by referring to a model designed *by* the Lethbridge College, Alberta. The government contracting process was outlined and summarized. The explanations appeared legitimate and the tumult was appeased. No one apparently questioned the educational model, designed *at* Lethbridge College/University *by* the Fourth World Project (1984a; b), or demanded concrete evidence of its application. The crisis had been averted and schooling resumed.

However, at the institutional level the tension increased between a unionized group of correctional employees and the privatized CCEs group. Three ex-substitute teachers (Informants 18, 19, 20) volunteered that there was no negative feeling towards them, because they were not in the institutions for any length of time. But, if they came for extended period of time, they realized that "two different teams were involved". Stony Mountain Institution's unionized personnel was most overt in its opposition to privatization. In other institutions, the participants confirmed that the logic of polarities and opposition to privatization was succinctly but frequently, manifested at work.

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[20] A video copy of the September 10th, 1998 CBC News Investigative Report broadcast and of its follow-up of the 13th, were obtained from CBC.

[21] The Native Brotherhood is a correctionally sanctioned institutional advocacy group operated by and for the Native prisoners.

[22] TV News and newspapers are available to inmates.

The supposed neutrality of CCEs was exposed as a myth. In one way, the CCEs were expected to promote pro-social values, respect for legitimized authority, and a desire for learning in their students; yet, simultaneously, they were reduced in professional status, mistrusted, and specifically targeted because of the nature of their employment and sex. Understandably, the term harassment had been used by various past CCEs who appealed their circumstances to the contractor. The conflicts at the sites made such claim possible in view of the interests of the parties to cover their own doings and to protect their interests. Of course, it was also an empty cry: nothing changed, since 1994, because the CSC-contractor relationship had not changed; only the CCEs have revolved through their doors. Therefore, the CCEs continue to be at the mercy of the institutions, the COEs and the TCs who operate the sites. And at worst, we saw in previous chapters how easily they were sacrificed by the prison or/and the contractor to ensure their survival.

### Communications

Institutions, like professions, have languages of their own. Using the appropriate language signifies knowledge, familiarity with, acceptance of, and identification with a group: initiates have to learn the specifics of communication before joining an affiliation. The prison was the same.

First, CCEs entering the prison faced learning new vocabulary and acronyms, the basics needed to refer to places, position, level of security, operations and procedures. The vocabulary and acromyms provided throughout this dissertation are only a fraction of what is actually used by prison administrators, workers, and prisoners. Language use was strategic.

Second, CCEs had to learn how to use the appropriate language and when to use it. Official interpretations and versions of events were well rehearsed scripts[23] providing easily understood explanations. Examples of scripts were previously presented by the VP and Visionary when they present the advantages of privatization and by the prison spokesperson who explained the contracting and educational program on the television. They did not stand up to my investigation then and now but while I was an employee they were not to be questioned, unless one wanted to be considered as challenging authority, lines of communication, or worse as fermenting dissent in the ranks.

Third, for the participants communication with prison staff was limited and was referred to as "conversation" or "talks and chats" depending of the individuals involved. If the participants spoke of talking to someone from the prison, before being employed at the prison, they used the term conversation to define the exchange.

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[23] The answers are provided through the Region office to the chosen Spokesperson for the Institution.

However, if the same individuals interacted inside the prison, the term changed according to the position of the prison employee. Talks were referred to when participants felt confident in their knowledge and understanding. All participants mentioned having a talk with their TC, or contractor's representatives; Visionary also talked with the Warden but it had been precipitated by outside interests. Visionary and Knight talked to the COEs about programs but they were TCs themselves. Nevertheless, the responses they received were very different: Visionary was allowed to proceed while Knight was told it was not of his business. This is probably why the participants referred to verbal exchanges as chats to describe the superficiality and brevity of "blurred exchanges" between staff or to refer to when they "speak about but not of prisoners or events."

Other forms of communication also contributed to control, secrecy, and ambiguity. While hearsays (4x) were more personal and could help verify the level of familiarity of an individual with operations and procedures they were also more humorous and specific unlike rumours (14x) which were widespread and seemed to provide more information, but as a Believer said "you could never be sure." At times, a hearsay could be as effective as a warning (4 x) because it had the potential to become a rumour. Even if one was not the subject of a rumour it affected the group, Woman said "it could have been me, it could have been any one of us." No one wanted to be the object of a rumour because it is diffamatory and it endangers employment. The two worst rumours were that someone was "a con-lover" or "a risk."

Another communication form was storytelling. Stories contained myth, values, a warning and a moral. In prison certain events have become so entrenched that they have become myths. One story was shared by all the CCEs. The story was always about a female teacher who got involved with a prisoner. In some versions she was taken hostage, in others she was not, but the final part was always the same: she was killed. Regardless of where they worked, all the participants had heard it and referred to it. It was meant as a warning not to interfere. The story originated in the death of Mary Steinhauser, a correctional officer, during a hostage incident at the BC Penitentiary, in 1975 (Farris Report, 1975; Archives of Canada, MIKAN # 142328; Correctional Service of Canada fonds, Ref: R942-55-2-E). It was meant as a warning not to get involved and not to interfere.

Another form of storytelling, "Remember when…" was used by three participants in the classroom to ease departure of students facing release or transfer. It had become part of their ritual to validate the students and remembering shared moments eased the separation from the group and transition to the next milieu. Student-prisoners were glad to know they could be remembered positively and even, fondly; they recalled with a smile.

The participants also commented on double-speak, a feature of bureaucrats who appropriated the language of other domains and filled it with the meaning that met their needs. Thus, for Knight, Believer, Woman and Traveller in prison an invitation was a "direction;" to meet with superiors could turn into being "further excluded" or worse "being roasted" (Believer, Knight, Woman); orientation resulted in Woman and a peer's "fixation" while for Traveller and Woman, training could "rendered one paranoid." For Visionary recalled counselling practices had become in fact "interrogations" and "accusation" due to the propensity to ask "why" and "what were you. . ." These types of sessions were something that Believer and Woman experienced at other sites and recalled with a shudder. And overall correctional education had become "literacy." Thus, it is reasonable to believe that double-speak helped disguise negative procedural implications.

When language turned on itself and tension built, humour could offer release. Prison humour was "dark humour" mentioned Traveller. Prisoners and correctional employees' jokes about each other and about administrators generally included putdowns. Five of the six participating CCEs made fun of their own initial innocence, beliefs, perception of situations in an ironic manner and proved that some form of comedy was necessary especially in prison, even when it was at one's expense. This form of self-deprecating humour revealed changes of attitude and behaviour and conveyed a sense of loss of innocence and trust: it was then, this is now. Thus, what was shared for laughter resulted in tears when clarified and could be used as a measure of "personal change."

Other forms of fun in the classrooms were recalled when Retired, Traveller, Woman and Believer reported students frequently using puns. For them the usage of puns seemed to correlate with their students' acquisition of vocabulary and language skills, and with the attainment of a level of comfort in the classroom. Puns could be very creative and therefore these CCEs were responding to them positively.

On the other hand, they reported that jokes were not necessarily funny, but their primary feature was surprise. Jokes could be verbal or physical ones, like the time a student snored during a video, or when bugs crawled out in mass from the baseboards during a spring thaw. Traveller reported that her students were surprised at times when she would do something unexpected. They saw this as a "joke." So she continued to "use surprise to shake up student perceptions." It had become "like a game of got you," resulting in "laughter and open discussion of social issues" in the classroom. Woman reached the same objective with her materials for reading, videos and songs. Overall, these CCEs and their students appreciated humour. It contributed to the classroom history and to the history of the individual teacher.

Teachers could inadvertently say something that could have major consequences for themselves or their students. For example, four participants said they were cautious in "learning [some] prison lingo because some words took absolutely new meanings." For example, expressions like "goof" and "goofing off" are serious insults in the prison while for people around their fifties, it meant to make an error, to waste time, to take it easy, to do nothing, to rest, or at its worst, to be lazy. On the other hand, the use of lingo by students can be either "a test," a "challenge" or "an insult" to the authority of the teachers, so "some knowledge was necessary to avoid disrespect" in the classroom, specified the women. For example, classes are mixed racial groups, referral by one student of another as "his boy" influenced the classroom dynamics. "Boy" was a derogatory term in various groups and cultures who experienced colonialism. In the prison, "boy" was even more degrading when teachers remained unaware of the predatory aspects of the relationship implied by the use of the term.

The use of lingo was seen as appropriate by all participants for abbreviation and locations; but in other circumstances they were more circumspect. Four used lingo in the classroom, "as a means to establish contact" or "if the student had no other vocabulary skills," and "only if [they had been] given the meaning of the word by a reliable source." For example, Woman, Traveller and Believer explained, sometimes the students had been incarcerated from their teens so the language formation was stunted and they lacked a range of vocabulary to give nuance to meaning, like in expressions of feelings, or relationships. Or, volunteered Visionary, they had learned English in prison, so their understanding of the words was limited to its institutional application. So when participants used lingo they conferred acceptance (Traveller, Woman, Retired, Believer), and then they all agreed that they were "able to teach new and more appropriated words."

The participants had children of their own so they were keenly aware that in a society, language is constantly changing and evolving. Even from one generation to the next they recognized these changes. Language was always an issue, and participants who had classrooms called out "language" as a warning, when it started to deteriorate. This is a common practice amongst teachers and it took additional meaning in the prison settings. On one hand, swearing was an institution's chargeable offence; on the other, usage of impressive legal or medical terminology did not always mean what students really wanted to say; but it covered a lack of knowledge. Participants had to figure out language usage not only for itself, but also for its intent. They learned "to read between the lines" and Believer added: "Coming from him, from where he came from it was probably a very nice thing to say…" That was then that some participants realized that many of the prison "chargeable offences" were actually "a lack of manners" or "anything offending sensibilities."

The chargeable offences mentioned included "ignoring by someone you're talking to, being stared at, and someone walking away when one was still talking." The participants said the same could apply for students "being abrupt or demanding," and "making inappropriate personal disclosures" or "having poor grooming reflecting a lack of social polish" rather than criminality. Yet, these traits have been identified by theorists as indicators of the criminal element. Traveller and Woman agreed that "the manners might be offensive but it does not make the offender; our societal responses to what is offensive do exclude rude or poorly groomed individuals." With this realization Woman, Traveller, Believer and Retired all chose "instead of charging…to provide feedback and direction" to their students.

This form of education was not part of the curriculum but they taught it anyway because to them it is relevant to social dynamics and to reintegration; and they were "careful" "not to be judgemental of individuals" even as they "set behavioural limits."

Traveller also explained being careful when being addressed by her students in the passageways or within sight or sound of the correctional staff for "fear of being misinterpreted" if she appeared "receptive and friendly." She, like Believer, Woman and Retired attributed this danger of labelling to the "disparity between the roles of teachers, to build rapport and the role of detention of the guards." If so, exercising verbal circumspection would be the first formal evidence of CCEs' mental manifestation of prisonization.

Five participants confirmed that verbal exchanges in the school between CCEs, were mostly about professional educational and correctional concerns. Their exchanges within their peer group in the corridors, walkways, and parking lots became somewhat more familiar, but never too personal.

In exploring how the participants talked about the forms of prison communication it became possible to examine how they engage themselves with them in and outside the setting, across differences, in oppositional and even in subversive ways. Through language, the CCEs moved to decolonize minds and imagination through challenge, intervention and change; by practical engagement with practices; and by resisting representations of themselves and of their students. And so, they gradually put themselves at risk to be shunned when they spoke out socially.

### Border-crossing

Borders are both imaginary lines and physical demarcations defining spaces. Borders exist between races, classes, sexes, and a host of other differences or conventional and political representations. Border-crossing implies both a mental exercise and justification for movement from the centre to the margins (hooks, 1994), and vice versa; consequently, it can replicate old patterns of imperialism and colonialism.

For CCEs border-crossings took many forms. First, there was the physical space of the prison starting with its location in relation to the residence of the CCEs. They used their transition to and from the prison as a time of "preparation for what has to come [next]" advanced Knight, Woman and Believer. For the others, the physical, mental and emotional role preparation was reflected in the rituals of entry and departure. These rituals "started with dressing" and "before leaving home" to "get into the mind-set" and increased "within sight of the prison." Such actions as "slowing down, parking in specific areas, leaving belongings, clipping on the security tag, walking towards the entrance and signing the register" were significant points in the physical ritual. The "evidences of ritual deepened the experience as keys and PPAs [new physical add-ons] were gathered" stipulated Traveller. Eventually, after following these steps the school space was reached.

The deeper into the prison one penetrated, the deeper the mental and emotional preparation was and for Visionary this meant "tuning in and tuning out, increasing certain processes while shutting down others to remain professional," to ignore fears or avoid questioning and commenting about operations or events. The ritual was reversed after work to return to individual public roles.

None of the participants indicated that any of their working relationship extended socially. In spite of the time and shared experience, CCEs remained guarded socially with one another and especially with prison staff. Rather, there seemed to be an "effort to stay away from each other's social and private life" (Believer) which is accentuated in smaller locations "where you can't shake a brick without somebody from prison being there" said one participant. Another participant had "prison staff living on her left, on her right, across the street and across the back alley and another three up and down the block." Apparently, "if you have children it's the worst because then their activities and friends can bring you back in contact with the prison." Traveller, Woman and Believer had young children involved in sports and school or social activities coached, taught or led by prison staff. Thus, they were concerned with the risk of "becoming more visible and more audible to the prison" because they lived in towns and worked in places where similarly, "most of what one said or did, or didn't, was subject to observation, interpretation, and judgement." This social avoidance could indicate the chasm they cross on a daily basis if they prefer "not to be reminded" and "to be themselves" and by themselves, in their private time. Maybe this is indicative that physical border crossing into the prison accentuated aspects of transgression and promoted a need to be guarded at all times.

The second form of border crossing promoted prisonization by shaping CCEs to the prison. Although training sessions and orientations were official strategies provided to learn the rules and prison ways they contain expectations of ideological association with other professional prison groups. Instead, for the participants the association appeared very superficial in being limited to social events or crisis situations. Believer, Retired and Woman went to correctional staff barbecues because "invitations had been extended;" Visionary and Woman went to the kitchens during crises, preparing prison food and eating it in the staff cafeteria with a wide range of correctional staff. However, only Visionary sounded enthusiastic. Woman reported of the BBQ, "no one [from prison] spoke to us [from the school]."

During my first penitentiary experience it had been explained to me by my TC that any correctional social "invitation was protocol, we are not expected to accept." Like I did eat in the cafeteria, I also accepted these invitations in my attempts to build better relations between groups. I also carried a book with me, just in case. And I spoke to people first. Most time someone spoke back and chats or conversations about neutral subjects would follow: my book; the movie in town; the Farmer's Market; the garage sales or whatever seasonal activity was taking place the week-end before or to come, as I was new to town, it was useful to me. I did get to know some CSC staff and two became good friends. We agree to disagree about prisons. Others are acquaintances that I look forwards to encountering at conferences. Of course, by the time we got to that stage I had already moved out of the prison.

Other social occasions mentioned by participants included food as well: farewell lunches and diners, volunteer appreciation banquet, Native feasts and Christmas socials. However, during the research I found out that not all institutions extend invitations for these events (Informants 3, 10, 21) and that sometimes it was "only the TC who was invited" (Informant 22). Regardless of the invitation to attend, it was clarified three of these individuals that "institutionally, CCEs are not expected to accept." The invitations preserved the façade of proper congeniality.

However, at other times the invitations came in such a way, that it became impossible to refuse them. At these times, the border crossing provided knowledge about the operations and procedures which would have otherwise been out of bound.

These crossings resulted in "insider knowledge of informal networks" which did save Woman and Retired from costly mistakes while allowing them and Visionary, "networking" opportunities.

Networking had the potential of helping CCEs decide to join the CSC. Each participant had examples to this effect. Many pragmatic factors influenced the choice of possible joiners: advancement, security of employment, and increased status were some reasons mentioned by all. Joining CSC was considered advantageous materially and was referred as "to take the meat;" so there was a implied rawness about it, an apparent moral abandonment and dilemma better revealed, in "crossing over." The decision sounded final; an acceptance of what prisons are and possibly, a deeper betrayal of one's group, ideals of education and of rehabilitation.

As Visionary, Woman, Traveller and Retired explained, joining depended on recruitment: one must pass the tests and exhibit the desired attitude and aptitudes. According to these four participants the correctional position most desired by CCEs was the one of Parole Officer (PO). POs belong to the correctional group with which CCEs had the most contact and felt the most affinity. Both groups worked to reintegrate prisoners to community.

Border crossing resulting in crossing over had much more to do with identified affinity, than it first appeared. In examining networking, the files of four past CCEs had enough information to support that recruitment was facilitated by personal connection and an endorsement of attitudes. There was a correlation between the occupational level of the connection and the entry position level of the joiners. Thus, affinity as an aspect of prisonization, was illustrated.

Believer and Woman indicated that for them networking revealed that the perceived unity of the correctional staff did not stand up to investigation. Factions existed between custodial, programs, administrative, medical and managerial personnel. This competition had been previously explained by Alward (1982) as the desirable result of diversity in education, character and attitudes of the personnel recruited to fulfill the contradictory orientation of each prison function.

In fact, only one of the 11 CCEs who joined CSC between 1994 and 2000 became a Probation Officer (PO). The others went to different positions. Even the participants who had considered the option did not appear to be interested in joining. Visionary appeared content with how her current situation met her aspirations and Retired said that he was not interested in a new career, at his age. Woman and Traveller both knew that they did not want to become POs because it would increase their conflicts with the prison.

Job performance evaluation provided CCEs with the final formal form of border crossing; a professional one with ambiguous potentials. After satisfactory performance evaluations, four participants mentioned that they saw themselves as moving from one sphere to another: from a state of environment incompetence to competence, confirmed by the employer. Having regained a measure of professionalism by completing the probationary phase of their employment, they sought to take more active roles into the company and the school by providing suggestions, criticism, or seeking increased responsibilities. In these ways, they keep enlarging their understanding of correctional and corporate operations. Five participants had such experiences. Only Visionary appeared content as she fulfilled her "aspirations." The remainders felt rebuffed or ignored by either the TCs or management. Therefore, while performance evaluation provided a sense of competence in working in the prison and with prisoners it did not mean that administrators changed operations to meet the suggestions of front line CCEs to improve the educational enterprise or the working conditions. As the realizations set in, they reported being tempted to leave and it was at that time that most conflicts arose between CCEs, TCs, COEs, and Company X. Nevertheless, the participants had decided to stay but from behind their classroom door began to manifest a far more different and potent sort of border crossing, one indicative of individual shift, away from the prison mentality: caring.

John La Madrid, a Cognitive Behavioural Life Skills Instructor from Larch Corrections Centre, spoke at the closing of the 2002 ACEA Conference about the importance of caring in the prisoner-students and teacher relationship. He talked with great feeling and range of emotions about how in his own experience as a prisoner-student one teacher' s caring made all the difference to who he has become personally and professionally in his relationships. In caring, a potential for change was released for both the teacher and the student. The four CCEs who expressed caring were aware that they could burn-out, and two were on the verge, but they also considered the alternatives and consequences of not caring, and realized that lack of care is much more detrimental to society as it results in creating a "disposable society" and they were not prepare to accept that or to give up, yet.

In shifting CCEs away from the prison mentality of polarities, the prisoners acted as catalysts to this final form of border crossing. Initially, prisoners had been unknown and anonymous; an impersonal and fearsome group. "Prisoners, criminals, offenders and inmates" were the generic terms used and they created a polarity or categories of "others."

Among the four participants who were not TCs, nine additional words were mentioned indicating that communication and familiarity in the classroom daily activities resulted in changed perceptions when fears dissipated. Rapport was established when the prisoners became "students," a "mixed-bag of guys" to be sorted out as "grade levels." The majority of students were "Native peoples" or "immigrants." In daily contact, the students became known individually and were then referred to by first names.

In addition, another emerging teacher-student relationship developed as most of the teachers had "teaching assistants" (TAs). The TA was a specific prisoner chosen to help with the "guys" in classroom learning activities, in preparation of materials and in completing other tasks assigned by the teachers. This was a "privileged position" offering more access to the CCEs and to school space and its resources.

The four expressed no hesitation in accepting the idea of socially encountering individual inmates in their outside life, after release. The deepest level of rapport was expressed when four participants expressed empathy and affection for their students as a whole, and for specific individuals in particular. The term friend was then used by three participants

The longer the association between teachers and students, the more trusting and accepting the relationship appeared to grow. This was not due to familiarization or denial it was based upon daily interactions, observations and recognition of the fact that working in prison, with students from various racial and class backgrounds was a constant reminded of how difficult it remains to cross boundaries in Canadian society. While cultural theorists Bourdieu (1935), Freire (1970-1998) and hooks (1992; 1994) wrote of social mobility they did not do so as if it was only a matter of will. They recognized the impact of social forces and so did these participants because they had themselves experienced various forms of social limitations and overcame them, mainly through education. Any form of border-crossing can be painful but it is never neutral because it always generating knowledge. In the case of these teachers their enrichment had resulted in the desire to exercise responsibilities towards others. Individually, caring had led my four participants to question the type of relationship one is socially and personally permitted to have, with whom and on what basis.

They saw their relationships as "healthy relationship-making skill practices" "essential to rehabilitation and re-integration". Yet, the avowal of care appeared to release CCEs from an incredible pressure as they raised their voice to say "I care" or "I love." Then, they reacted: two cried, one covered his face with his hands; another got up and walked away. In the prison, when these CCEs first arrived they had found themselves as "others" and gradually they had learned to see themselves through the eyes of others. When they finally saw themselves in their students and their students in themselves, strategies of resistance emerged. It does not mean that CCEs became criminals but that they abandoned the moral status quo and point of view enforced by the contractor and CSC. This reorientation forced them to redefine themselves, their role, and their ideologies, politics and power. When they had to face themselves sometimes they felt "conned" or "set-up" and "betrayed." Consequently, they "lost trust" in the authorities and their discourses. Some felt "shamed" because they felt "they should have known better [than to believe]" or "done more [for such and such students]."

Was caring or loving a horrible crime to be ashamed of? Were they released or did they fear my reaction? Ultimately caring was subject to third party interpretation, evaluation, and judgement. The admission of caring rendered teachers vulnerable and suspicious to the administrators as it meant they were guilty of transgressing the prison dictate "not to feel" and they knew they could be fired for it. There were precedents. Subsequent to a 1998 group interview process Randall Wright wrote "teachers who appear to care too much, are dismissed" (2002: 180) or more likely, "were eliminated" (187). By using the transcript in his dissertation I could see that during the interview process he had refused to listen and interrupted the speakers on various occasions by changing the topic. To me those speakers were recognizable by their turn of phrase and vocabulary. Indeed, my archival document research corroborated their departures. There was no apparent professional or personal impropriety involved: only an open admission of caring for "those bad boys," the students.

Participating CCEs originally categorized themselves and their peers as being either "in or out." Peers stayed or went and there was apparently no negative implication attached to the decision to depart. All of the participants, except one, were non-judgemental of the individual factors which led peers to leave the prison or to proceed according to one's level of comfort; they did not refer to the departed as failures or by "they could not cut it" as the institutions and Company X did.

The exception was Visionary, who identified a CCEs in sub-category of "practitioners who plod along" and to a "category who judges and plans." As her interviews progressed, it became apparent that she looked down upon practitioners and had self-identified from the beginning with the judging-planning group. She condescended "that practitioners or steady eddies", as she later called them, "were needed." Yet, every time she used the term "practitioner" her nostrils were pinched.

A second pattern of distinction had first been voiced in relation to her previous experience: "I also lived in the Yukon and Northern Alberta, so I have experience with...dealing with...different kinds of youth, as well as different kinds of adults, yeah, yeah." When asked to specify what she meant by different kinds, she replied: "all right. It probably refers to cross-cultural. And also it refers to basically, in terms of abilities because some of the programs at that time were organized so that the students...you know, could actualize their potential according to their abilities." Clarifying the differences she continued "umhm...and also various socio-economic levels. I think that's crucial, especially in the North. When you go further north there is such a diversity and such ...and a sense of disparity." Another experience provided a third set of difference when she taught ESL: "...a factory...they make uniforms and, like for people within the organization that, and they would employ, of course, umhm, other than, you know, when immigrants first come over, they do, they employ them." Her speech pattern grew increasingly disturbed, and she was clearly uncomfortable speaking about the subject. Yet every day, she interacted with individuals who represented these differences of race, cultures, and socio-economic and civic status.

Did students perceive her sense of superiority and the bias or even, discrimination just below its surface? Her research and professional development justified Visionary to

> pull out from what we know about human behaviour...so you are looking at psychology. But what happens...in terms of the dynamic self-situation of a culture that causes people...whether it be dynamics from young or later on in life...for these people to become so shattered or disconnected or disenfranchised. How everyone is labelled...that somehow the shattered souls or disconnected people move into an area of criminal activity...or it be gang relationships or some sort of desperate feeling to want to connect somehow.

As her references switched from education to psychology and sociology, they appeared to consolidate her identification with the needs of the prison. In her interviews I repeatedly used the word student, and she only referred to criminals, offenders, and only once to "clients." Her past colleagues had been aware of some biases because files indicated conflicts caused by her dismissive attitude towards them or the students. In addition, Visionary seemed to lack critical awareness: cross-cultural differences are not included in psychological and sociological texts unless they illustrate deviance.

### Sexism, Sexes and Sex

Misogyny has survived in spite of the apparent equity in prison employment. Being male or female (physical attributes) made a difference to the nature of the participants' prison experience. The two male participants were the first to indicate that it was more difficult for women than men to work in the prison schools. In prison, women's role models appeared to be still the saint or the whore. The four female participants specified that correctional authorities were ready to treat female CCEs as "sexual threats" with the potential to "turn the place upside down." The authorities wanted them to believe that they "could drive the prisoners wild." For women in their middle years, this threat could have been taken as a "boost to their egos" and "a kind of power;" but three participants recognized that it was also "ridiculous" and "simplistic" to believe it. They were also quick to realize that "no one wondered if their ideas were not more dangerous" than their so-called, "fearsome" sexuality.

These women received constant reminders that "all that was needed to get rid of them was doubt" about their conduct, and "not proof of misconduct." Once their reputation was compromised it could not be repaired. The "overt ridicule" and "judgements" attached to women eliminated "for unsuitable conduct," frightened them: each female teacher could be the "next victim," the next "scapegoat." This "fear spreads from woman to woman regardless of age."

The victimization seemed to come with the contract; "[Security said] you should expect to be raped for God's sake. You'd have to be an imbecile to work in a place where that might be something that you think is going to happen to you," stated Woman. Curiously, the men did not mention fear of possible sexual assault. It is downplayed instead. When I questioned incidences of assaults in 1994, I was told after the Security Officer finished laughing that "you are a woman in a prison, you can expect it." When I asked about the men being assaulted, the laughter died and he tersely admitted: "It happens." Yet, five CCEs identified when risks were becoming apparent in the classroom and how they were aware and cautious of boundaries. The prevalence of homosexuality in prison was not something the men chose to ignore. They knew that they could become vulnerable to manipulations as much as the women if maybe for different reasons. Once these CCEs realized that the "boys" were picked upon by "predators," "predators and skinners"[24] posed additional risks to both men and women: sexual interference and possible rape. So, one was cautious to avoid being alone with them even more than with any other category of prisoners.

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[24] Predators and skinners are terms applied to sexual offenders depending upon the nature of their victims: children or women.

Furthermore, COEs, Security and TCs advised females on ways of dressing. The four females reported receiving [giving in Visionary's case] the advice "to button up, to wear no short or tight clothing, to preferably wear pants instead of skirts." Various sites personnel provided additional directions: "no bare-leg, no open-toe shoes; and in terms of grooming; no perfume, clear or neutral nail polish, not much make-up, no flowing hair." Two women even reported being told to avoid going to the bathroom during class breaks as it was located in the hallway, in plain sight of students. The institutional intent went beyond encouraging professional grooming by directing female teachers to be asexual; was it to possibly prevent any manifestation of prisoner-students' fetishism, even if it was not called that? Or is it just a manifestation of its control because it can get away with it?

The female participants professed liberal and feminist ideas. Yet, in spite of these expressed feminist beliefs and sexual liberation, each of the female participants responded. They endured and submitted themselves to the degrading charade of changing their appearance and to, apparently accepting responsibility for the behaviour and sexual responses of the men around them. The female participants agreed that the power of "peer pressure" influenced them to dress, groom and act more "matronly" and "less attractively." Visionary wore "dark tailored clothing" conveying "authority." Woman "wore pants" but retained "some colour in her tops" and "changed some grooming." Traveller was an admitted "natural" woman and so did not mention changing anything; but she mentioned how "she kept mentioning her age as a deterrent," as if attraction stopped with age. Believer "had to rethink her wardrobe" and "most of the grooming habits she had taken for granted since her teens," to become "marmish." While Woman, Believer and Traveller knew the added discomforts of temperature fluctuations in the classroom and the impracticality of the clothing restrictions due to hormonal changes, they still adapted themselves and "layered up." Layering was another way to disguise one's shape or to cover a softer fabric blouse or bare arms.

Across space and time, a collective performative paradox ensued: as these female CCES covered up, a conscious recognition of who they were and of the power they held occurred. Initially, Woman, Traveller, and Believer had each responded to the prisoners "as mothers." Mother was a safe place for them between virgin and whore; the powerful place of the life-giver and nurturer (Bolen, 1984; Woodman 1985). Retired recognized that "in the prison, a woman could be a mom." These women at one point or another expressed that "being a mother had helped them deal with the prisoners" or helped "disciplining without punishing." They felt that drawing from their motherhood experience they could "remain patient" and "aware of manipulations and lies" and still address personal and sensitive issues [grooming, health, putdowns, slurs] and diffuse tense situations. They referred to using their "mom voice" and of "giving them the look," the mom's look."

Yet, to the prisoners these females CCEs were symbolic in many ways of the women they were separated from, women who deserted or abandoned them as children or as adults; women who judged them in schools or socially; women who set limits and had authority over them; and women who possibly abused them. Prisoners claimed to love women yet they were full of fear and anger; when they attempt to manipulate it is because that was the only way they felt capable to obtain what they want. Attraction and sexuality has almost nothing to do with CCEs personally and how attractive they, or the authorities, thought they were. It had more to do with how the prisoners say them.

Seduction and entrapment when they occurred were exercises in control because love was unfamiliar. Rape, an act of violence, of revenge and of abasement has nothing to do with attraction and in the prison it is directed to many male prisoners and indiscriminately, to CSC male and female hostages according to Canadian trauma studies. Yet, institutions downplayed male rape and magnified female rape. When women working in the prison become male versions or are afraid they cannot model appropriate gender relations or contribute to healthy reintegration as they perpetuate outdated stereotypes.

There were exceptions when student-teacher relationships apparently became more emotionally meaningful and challenged ethical boundaries. Informant 26 and a participant revealed that a CCE who left had subsequently requested visiting privileges. This request in the eyes of the prison compromised her. CSC denied the permission based on her previous employment and this could be considered interference in human rights of association between consenting adults. There was no evidence of impropriety anywhere in her file but *a copy of her application for permission to visit had been forwarded to the contractor* and this constituted a serious breach of privacy and confidentiality on the part of CSC officials after termination of her employment. This action discredited the past CCE with her ex-employer and with her peers when they were made aware of her visiting application, "as a warning." It further harmed her reputation when a story of involvement with an inmate surfaced in the region and prevented further employment in correctional settings.

I met this [then relocated] teacher in August 2000 and gathered that she had ethically quit to avoid an emotional conflict of interest and afterwards requested visiting privileges through the proper institutional procedures. Her application was denied and instead, taken as evidence of *previous* wrong-doings. The relationship she described was not sexual yet it had been interpreted so. This reminded me of how during my recall period (last two weeks of August 1995), I ran into individuals whom I had previously socially and culturally associated with, prior to my correctional involvement. Acknowledging them, I asked why they had not come to the school before; they responded that they had avoided me to save me embarrassment. It was not until speaking with this teacher that I fully understood what they had meant.

One participant recounted another type of relationship developing at her site and how "we (contract staff) were all aware that a colleague and a student soon to be released bonded" and how "their example gave hope to all." The COE was notified apparently by an inmate and expelled her. The participant's tale implied an unspoken conspiracy of silence amongst the contracting group. She sobbed while describing "the discarded teacher sitting on her boxes in the parking lot, waiting in the rain for a taxi." In this the participant felt that the teacher was made a visible example, a reminder, a warning to the other CCEs "that it could be them." The participant also felt for the "loss of hope" in the relationship; wistfully adding "it was wonderful," and "for the public humiliation of the teacher." She added that "after his release, the couple moved away, together."

I could not find anything in my archival notes related even remotely to this last occurrence. She might have been speaking from personal knowledge. In the files of employees let go for unprofessional behaviours, the proofs of sexual activity or misbehaviour were sketchy. One file contained a picture of a woman sitting on a man's knee; another file contained a picture of a "young pretty woman" wearing a shorter hemline and an open neckline, not uncommon or inappropriate to outside settings, deemed "too provocative to be appropriate for prison." Both women had been young clerical staff rather than teachers. Their files had been with the CCEs because as mentioned in Chapter Five, there was no differentiation between categories of employees until I made one.

Participants had seen excellent teachers leave the prison and leave teaching all together. They had also discovered that a stigma (Goffman 1963) would affect them. First, there was the stigma that follows from teaching in prison environments into the public system. Participants and informants said that during job interviews they were offered the class "with the students that no one else wanted." Supposedly, after working in prison they could cope with these difficult students, but the offer ignored their professional specialization: their status had been replaced by a correctional one. Second, women were even asked why they had wanted to work in a prison. When it happened they felt like they were asked "What's wrong with you that you would work there?" Eventually, some stopped trying to re-enter the public stream and joined the ranks of those who changed career, retired from teaching, or returned to school to earn master credentials and better options.

The four informants who eventually obtained new teaching positions pondered how they were examined with curiosity and judged. They removed any prison experience from their resumes in order to return to the regular school system. It was easier to explain the gap "as time spent with their families" than to explain "working in the prison." It was clear that prison stigmatization has an impact on future career development.

From what I observed, most CCEs were women and men in their forties and fifties, with the exception of a few very young teachers. These years prepare CCEs for retirement, the last productive years to set income and retirement standards. Many issues surrounding women, poverty and older age appeared compounded by privatization.

## II. The Prison Effects

Entering the prison changed the teachers. The impact needed to be evaluated in relation to the life and habits of the individuals. Asking "What effect has the prison had upon you?" was enough to generate extended responses. When I coded all the categories, I used Venn diagrams for each participant. The overlaps were so pronounced that, in certain cases there was a complete change over, to concentric circles. Like the pebble thrown into a pond, entry into the prison had rippled through lives and the more widespread the effects, the deeper was its meaning. Changes affected self-perception, actions, attitudes; relationships, family interactions; social interactions, activities, affiliations, politics and religious beliefs: all aspects of self-identity.

This led me to the two final questions I had wanted to ask using the assumption of Morris' theory (1995) that all those who enter the prison have the potential to become abolitionist. First, "Given [what you have shared], and the fact that you [quoted their own pre-entry level of knowledge of prison], has your view of prison changed?" Second, "If zero [neutral] was where you were when you entered the prison; where would you rank yourself now on the abolitionist scale of 0-10?" Being an abolitionist was defined being as a person who does not believe in the necessity of prisons to punish or prevent crime.

**Table 9: Participants' Self-ratings on Abolitionist Beliefs**

| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Knight* | | T | | | | | | | | | |
| *Visionary* | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Retired* | | T | | | | | | | | | |
| *Woman* | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| *Traveller* | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| *Believer* | | | | | | | | | X | | |

**T= Tracer found**

### Knight

Knight had seen CCEs come and go, had survived daily ambushes and his concern reflected a soldier's or scout's concern about his troop: he was concerned about their welfare and needing to "bring them out alive." He had encouraged some to leave and even provided referrals to facilitate future employment. He had encouraged volunteering and himself volunteered for this research to reduce stress in his co-workers and hopefully, to bring about change.

When I asked where he got his determination not to leave, he recounted a previous experience where he had not been wanted and where he had proven himself. In spite of his loyalty to the employer and rationalization for staying, when asked if he'd do it again he looked at me and asked "…knowing what I know now?" At my nod, he lowered and shook his head. "No," I inferred.

I had not asked him the abolitionist question but he had hinted at abolitionist thoughts, "wondering at it all." This was a slight indicator [a tracer] that his beliefs were shifting. At the time his primary concerns were needed changes to education and to the working relationships conditions and environment. Again, I was reminded that position affects views and voice.

### Visionary

Visionary was not speaking much about herself after revealing the risks she had been exposed to and her reactions have already been commented upon. However, she revealed the deep impact of the prison upon her communication with her family. I had asked "if her family was worried about her safety." She replied that she talked about the murder in a "professional way" and that her family members, people who are criminologists, sociologists, or involved in policing "look at things in a different way." I felt sympathy for her: socialization of family members into crime related occupations seemed to have eroded their human empathy; even, for their mother. Visionary maintained a professional barrier at all times even when she struggled. Her own imprisonment was revealed.

Visionary had taken such a strong stance with the prison and contractor that I did not ask the questions leading to abolitionist thoughts. In this decision I weighted the benefit of exploring the possibility against respecting her comfort zone. Her high-strung speech and demeanour left me more concerned for her well-being, than for a rating.

### Retired

Retired was originally disappointed by the educational achievement of his students until he "saw how proud they were at any progress at all." This was "a lesson to him" soon followed by discovering how much they enjoyed "teaching the teacher." From then he started "learning from his students" about "how to teach them best." I was impressed by this unexpected receptivity. He had been so insistent about his dress code and being the teacher, yet he had become a learner again. He radiated warmth while he spoke. I could see why he was being successful.

As Retired did not feel the pressure nor the need to remain in the situation, he appeared to have less stress than those who depended on their employment. He clearly knew he could do other things and not worry about developing his career. He had set himself a five year limit. Yet, he said that "in spite of the difference between his current teaching and previous forms of manual labour, he was now always tired, often falling asleep" when he sat down or while watching television. Plus, now "his mind couldn't stop at one show and he was constantly surfing" and "stopping only for nature and sports shows."

It was clear that Retired and his wife had an understanding. Asked if she was worried about him being in the prison, he replied: "If she were, I would not be there." He admitted some uncertainty about security in the school then frowned and added: "Well, that's what it was in the hole." As he spoke, it appeared that he had not reassessed the security limitations and I wondered if he had tried to avoid worrying himself and his wife standing waiting for him to finish. He looked tense and I felt intrusive. The abolitionist question was not raised.

Retired had unknowingly provided me with an unobtrusive tool to detect the impact of prison upon the habits of the individual: television watching.

### Woman

Woman articulated the effects of the prison and illustrated them in their specific dimensions: economic, professional, personal and social. The economic and professional aspects have already been presented, so this section focuses on the two later aspects.

First, she described how her health had been affected to the point where she became gradually disabled and almost immobile. Emotionally, she referred to "grieving over the loss of her potential as a professional," and as an individual who saw her employment situation and health issues diminish her future earning potential. She also felt deep vulnerability when "her own (employer and TC) turned on her and ganged up for character assassination." When she witnessed changes in six of the CCEs who had worked with her [corroborated by their files], she knew she could not have intervened in their internal processes; she had felt "helpless, shamed and now angry at the circumstances." She did not judge peers who cared or even became involved with their students because she knew "it could have been her."

Over the years at work, she had "become increasingly aware of the apparent contradictions in corporate directives and practices" and over time she realized they "were so multi-layered that they required the manipulation of ethics and juggling of understanding." These corporate manipulations had resulted in further observations and a folder of documentation which substantiated her claim. She further expressed "a deep sense of violation of human decency" revealed in comments about her training, about events at the Kingston Prison for Women (P4W), about the expulsion of colleagues and incidences of violence including hostage takings, riots and their aftermaths in the classroom. Her employment was "doing time" and she was "in limbo."

Second, she discussed how her life was affected "socially when friends and acquaintances reacted to her working in prison" or "when she offered alternative interpretations to their prison views." Their "…curiosity is not all healthy. It is like [they want me to] give them an interesting story, that they can tell at the next party." She had "experienced unexpected animosity and shunning from long term friends" and their "disappearance from her life had left her increasingly socially isolated."

Third, the prison also had cast its shadow between her and her partner as they had "lots of little stupid arguments about work." and in her parenting where she started "monitoring teen interactions and peer groups all the more closely and suspiciously."

Fourth, although artistically trained and qualified, "she had not touched art since entering the prison." However, she "craved being out in the open, having doors and windows open, being outside and surrounding herself with colour." This desire meant "getting away as much as she could" to "stay in locations not related to her community where it was too easy to encounter constant reminders of the workplace." She and her partner had not been into TV watching prior to prison employment and there was no change in this.

Faced with the question of abolition she entered a monologue weighting arguments against each other; balancing being a 3, 4, or 5, before reaching an impasse bringing her back to questioning process and outcomes of prison. She concluded that her awareness had led her to "a questioning, that did not exist before…still need to have a prison system but I think there's huge problems with it. So I don't know exactly how I would rate on a scale…I don't think we can abolish the need to take people out …do a time out, but I certainly think we need to take a big look at what we do with them when we have them in that time out. I'd never thought about it before." Yet she had, the arguments were coming to her rationally but she was not completely sure…she wanted to know more. The 5 she finally settled on confirmed her previous assessment of being in "limbo" as she felt "she wasn't all the way there." Actually , it indicated a major shift in perspective.

In religious cartography limbo is the void where souls await. The teachings reveal that it is not a neutral place with an either or outcome. It is a pregnant place of redemption, the place from which the De Profundis takes its most potent meaning, the possible return to life for realizing potential.

The interviews had been cathartic. She and later her partner individually expressed to me how releasing the research experience had been and how they had needed to talk between themselves about the prison experience. This indicated that possibly family members are indirectly affected by the experience of a loved one but also that they battle their own conception of what the prison experience is.

### Traveller

Traveller had discussed the financial disparity, the "paranoia making" atmosphere created by the efforts of correctional staff to control the educational staff. She had shared extensive insights on isolation and all its facets. She had realized that she was "going through phases" and identified the "energy pattern of being sucked out by the constant needs of her students who lived vicariously through her" and by "being worn-out by the bureaucratic washboard."

Otherwise, she felt "fine" and said "that she had not changed, but people around her had, mainly her husband." When asked to elaborate, she described how he was now "keeping silent instead of giving her advice" on how to deal with situations. She described "talking in bed before going to sleep" about what bothered her. If initially, her husband had "tried to support her through advice" but he "now appeared resigned that she knew best." The prison had also invaded the intimacy of her marriage bed where she confided some information of her day.

She noted that her sister had brought other changes to her attention. Traveller had not realized how her views overcompensated for the fears of those around her. She had advanced "that the criminals lived a certain lifestyle where they hurt people in the same world." Living a middle-class lifestyle, she could see "being implicated only by being accidentally in the way…that being the only time to worry about crime." She didn't think her prison experience impacted her family or that she was surrounded by crime until

> one time I did…in Edmonton, we went to Strathcona area. At the end of the afternoon, the shoppers were leaving and *other people* were sort of filtering in. We were walking down the sidewalk and I felt *very, very uncomfortable* because suddenly *everyone who was coming out looked to me like somebody who had just been in (name withheld) Institution* and I thought, oh…

That was when and how she realized how well she had "learned the prison." She could see the underlying invisible population patterns, and they made her feel vulnerable.

She felt that "having a family to bring her back to reality" was a positive element in her life because "looking after the children's needs helped her disengage from the prison." Traveller did admit that in considering adding to the family she "would not like to come home to a baby after the risky environment of the prison." So, she *had predetermined that if she wanted a child, she would have to move on after the maternity leave*. It surprised me that she would even consider being in the prison environment during pregnancy.

Her TV watching habits had changed and she "now avoided crime shows because on the show it finishes with the criminal is going to jail, why would I bring my work home?"

In discussing her present realization, Traveller came face to face with her experiences and how they supported what she had been raised to believe about prisoners. Her childhood socialization had helped her reach out to prisoners. Even before her experience as a CCE, she had been predisposed towards abolition rather than "stockpiling" individuals in prisons; "a sad and wasteful approach to life." As an abolitionist, she explored the complexities of criminality, social constructs and responsibilities, family structures and educational failures, unresolved grief and the wasted years of waiting in prison. She concluded:

> I'd be somewhere around a 7 or an 8, yeah, because I think that we are not doing the things we should be doing with these people from the word go, and even if we are going to punish them, we have to punish in a constructive way as opposed to what we are doing which is just a waste of time for everybody and demoralizing for everybody including the people who do it and actually carry out the punishment and make a career of it…I guess that's where I sit.

I like her choice of words "I sit," rather than I stand, because they convey the action of one who has traveled long and hard to reach a destination rooted in her childhood experience. Now, she had made it her own decision to be an abolitionist and could rest with it.

### Believer

Believer had undergone many changes and much stress. Her health had deteriorated, her economic situation had reversed; and her marriage had dissolved since the inception of her employment. Social responses to her entry in the prison had been varied: friends and acquaintances had "questioned her choice" or "tried to redirect it towards working with juveniles." Her church congregation appeared ambivalent as well. The local university professors were "curious and, therefore, supportive" during her studies. She called the experience of prison an "eye opener" and a "humbling experience;" shattering sanctimonious and self-righteous attitudes and beliefs. She had moved beyond her naïve middle-class Christian "do-gooders" position and tempered her faith.

Gradually, freedom had taken a new meaning for her: "while she conformed to the rituals of prison, she rediscovered the exercise of some freedom in starting single life." Suddenly, she was "realizing her own potential instead of advancing only others'." However, her working within prison was starting to affect her teen-aged children in unexpected ways. Already, she had noticed and was concerned with "their attraction to and possible acceptance of gang values." She worried that "her working with prisoners might be construed as condoning her children potential association with criminals and criminal activities." She had been "emotionally vulnerable to set-ups" but had regrouped without losing her job.

She had realized that society considers prison as "society's garbage can." Exploring her abolitionist stance as a woman, a mother and a Christian she advanced that society was more in need of "restorative justice; …political and social advocacy…to render rehabilitation and re-integration possible." For her, a widespread application of Christian beliefs would amount to changing society by "moving beyond the walls." In prison, "validating caring" would also "validate teachers" and their "ability to affect change in individuals and in society." When "appreciation would be expressed and caring returned; hurt would give place to gestures and expressions of basic kindness and even of friendship." She ranked herself at eight on the abolitionist scale. She was articulate and moving.

Two of the participants had shown tendencies and traces of abolitionist practices in their interviews but there was no self-rating so they could not really be evaluated. At least they were open to the possibility, as they did not deny it. It was my impression that they were still hanging on to the hope of neutrality but that it had been shaken.

### Summary

The past chapters illustrated the prison experience of six teachers who became CCEs. As such, they were marginal and constantly reminded of this fact. They were controlled, watched, and suspected. Tolerated as a means to achieve policy outcomes, these CCEs discovered that they had themselves become prisoners through previous and ongoing socialization processes. This realization led to questioning and critical re-appraisal while simultaneously providing means for resisting "prisonization".

The participants revealed that for some, attempts to prisonize them by implementing corporate and institutionally sanctioned strategies of control had the unexpected outcome of releasing abolitionist tendencies. Then evidence illustrated that they were able to discern the manifestations of the prison in other areas of their life and to identify significant changes. From their interviews, the participants showed that to one exception (Visionary) their consciousness developed in six stages:

1. from unconscious ignorance of the prison; to
2. awareness of ignorance; to
3. conscious attempts to learn; to
4. conscious efforts to adapt; to
5. confronting the paradoxical self; to
6. to live more authentically.

Accordingly, the situated activities described in Chapters Six and Seven were interpersonal activities involving symbolic communication by intentional participants implicated within specific contexts and relate to stage 1. Differentiation was made between activities between groups or agents of these groups, during stage 2; while, mediation occurred and interacted with the subjective disposition of individuals, during stage 3. In Chapter Eight and the development of stages 4, 5 and 6 the self-identity and biography of each individual and their social spheres reciprocated their prison experience and furthered increased awareness about the constraints of the prison system and of the negative effects of privatization. As this occurred previous and current understandings interconnected and elements previously disregarded or disclaimed were reintegrated, resulting in connected understanding and connective re-interpretation of the prison experience

In correctional teaching much took place. Participants mentioned that sometimes their work was not so much education as counselling. They meant that at times, they were asked to step out of the role of teacher and to respond as a parent, as a person on the outside, as a man or as a woman to give insights. They were asked to care. Giving advice was easy: "do this, do that…" but caring was different, it demanded empathy, to see with the heart what was essentially important, what was invisible, what was unspoken. What made it worth the risk even if students did not read better, was that maybe they'd act more appropriately because they would understand the world differently. The worst prison was not the four walls but a closed mind and a closed heart.

Whichever path the CCEs chose, they did not deny that they were changed. Collectively, all the CCEs in prisons had been silenced whether through censure of political or social views, or through pain or caring, or by becoming vague or silent about their occupation in social settings. Recognizing that unhealthy curiosity and voyeurism surrounding enquiries about work, they came to realize that anecdotes help reinforce prison and prisoner stereotypes. This refusal to speak out protected individuals but it could also be an indication of abolitionist tendencies: a resistance to feed prison, prisoners and CCEs' stereotypes.

The research indicated that he CCEs could indeed provide a realist and critical version of the prison when given the opportunity. It is hoped that ex-CCEs will find validation when they read the words of those who stayed. Maybe those who stay will become more aware of their situation. It became clear as we progressed that critical reflection was key in adopting an abolitionist stance. As of yet, some CCEs, have not thought through incarceration so the potential for change is not as clear as I would like it to be. In the next chapter I will critically theorize and introduce andragogic solution to this problem.

# CHAPTER 9

# CRITICAL THEORIZING: AN ANDRAGOGY FOR TRANSMUTATION

In this chapter I relate how an andragogical intervention helped individuals make respectful contact with themselves. This contact entailed breaching the prisonized experiences from which their metaphors had emerged and it required them to "Talk, think and feel…".

I focus on the andragogical practice of "de- zoning/dis-owning," which involves the analysis of the metaphorical constructs as a communicative andragogical strategy to enhance abolitionist tendencies connecting ambivalent metaphorical expressions to the socio-cultural system and socio-political structures surrounding or internalized by the participants. First, I discuss the theory of metaphorical expression and projection of multiple meanings. Then, I caution about the dangers of using metaphors. Second, I demonstrate the process of metaphor analysis used to evaluate the validity of the participants' metaphors. Third, I clarify the 11 categories of metaphors used by the participants and demonstrate how unpacking their constructions can be linked to the prison as a cultural system or "myth structure." This is how I come to naming the process. Fourth, I identify how space and fragmentation work together in the prison as a cultural system. Fifth, I discuss the prison language of the participants and show how it is counter indicative of "prisonization." Overall, I provide the analysis of an andagogical action to mobilize resistance to "prisonization" for abolitionist purposes.

To recapitulate, Chapter Five documented the experience of those contracted correctional educators (CCEs) who left for a multiplicity of reasons. While no specific conclusions were identified, I did show that the reasons for leaving were much more complex than I had been led to believe and suggested that there is a constellation of symbolic and material factors as well as potentially persuasive and coercive reasons why CCEs leave. Most of my conclusions provided alternative explanations requiring further research. However, the chapter pointed toward interesting elements of the teaching experience and the dynamics of exiting which might be explored with CCEs who stayed. In other words, by getting those who stayed to clarify what was important to them and their experience, they provided interesting insights into why someone might leave.

Chapter Six identified the contractor's recruitment strategies as a "setup," that is, participants entered the prison with a naïve trust in the management and as they began to understand the actualities of the situation they felt professionally compromised. Their realization exhibited four phases: 1) innocence; 2) resocialization; 3) awareness of marginalization; and 4) the decision to defer leaving.

Chapter Seven showed that in analysing the "setup" participants started to evaluate the nature and the scope of correctional education and contractual practices. They responded to the mounting evidence by fighting to remain rational and to deny their fear thus denying that they are unsafe. In other words, if they spoke out, they faced the dilemma of continuing their silence or exiting the employment.

The findings in Chapter Eight illustrated that their dilemma is not just personal but structured into the socio-cultural system and socio-political relationships of power and manifested in communication. These interrelations of dynamics in communication were complex and, for the most part, subtle (e.g. in the management practices of informing on "a need to know" basis). The findings in the three chapters pointed to the importance of language in the participatory interview process because when people could not find words to describe what happened to them, they expressed themselves through metaphors.

This expression of experience through metaphor suggested that it might be important to clarify the multiple and paradoxical meanings evoked in each expression. In doing so, the language of the participants had the potential to reveal the impact of the prison experience because this form of language appeared to mediate social structure and personal agency.

The language and expressions of metaphors were unique to each participant. In order to understand the depth of the experience it became necessary in our interactions for the participants to examine linguistic constructions. This analysis was relevant because the participants reacted and questioned their own talk about experience, especially when they used metaphors and then reflexively recognized that they were doing something they had not been aware of before: "Why did I say such a thing?"; "Why did I say that?"; "Where did that come from?" These statements pointed to the possible workings of a "subconscious" process and indicated their willingness to explore it. According to my methodology "the goal of the investigator who deals with human phenomena is to discover the patterns…that exist in the mind, the sensory apparatus, and the muscle of man" (Hall 1976: 121) so, the purpose of this chapter is to extend this enquiry of metaphor and link their use to a potential andragogical process for abolitionism.

Morris (1995) never explained how this process of transformation might occur. According to Valenstein (1962), mutative or dynamic insights extend self-knowledge by combining affective-connotative and intellectual cognitive components. Analysing metaphorical expressions as a spontaneous and creative sub-conscious attempts to use language to resist prisonization means removing rationalizations and other forms of censures, and challenging the bureaucratic projection of being captured. This interaction potentially replace prison imagery with an abolitionist imagery more supportive of the participants's emerging classroom abolitionist practices. I call this communicative practice "de-zoning" and its performative practice, "dis-owning." "De-zoning" connects the CCEs' riddles to the socio-cultural system and socio-political structures of prison experience while "dis-owning" reconnects the origins of the emotional connotations of the words to the prison experience.

## I. Metaphors and Theory

Metaphor is inherent to human thought. A metaphor is a linguistic process by which some aspect of an object is carried over to another, so that the second is spoken of as if it were the first to achieve a more precise or special meaning shaped by linguistic and social pressures (Forget 2000). Aristotle identified that different purposes required different aspects of language where metaphor combined the clarity and persuasion of rhetoric and the distinctiveness of poetry. Thus, by linking these elements where art imitated the social environment, new meaning and knowledge could be gathered.

In this study, metaphors provided new ideas through their creative function as a learning process. Bartel (1983: 10) adds that in literal words, metaphors communicate new insights and are invented when language is either too dull or restrictive for what needs to be said. Every time a metaphor is used or created, a comparison between shared traits is made. Also, the functions of metaphor link to insights by connecting, integrating and granting perspective. This imaginative speculation reveals potentially unnoticed practical relationships and possibilities beyond verbal articulation. For Bartel (1983), metaphor has its counterpart in synthesis and is implied in activities involving dividing, combining, classifying, and organizing. Therefore, a metaphor is more than the merging of apparently incompatible terms; it demonstrates keen sensitivity to language and awareness of the unity of all things, as Aristotle says, "a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars" (in Bartel 1983: 83).

### Cautions about the Use of Metaphor

The usage of metaphors comes with a number of cautions about its merit, motive, power, and symbolism (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). First, overly popular metaphors often become clichés when they pass through irregular stages from literal to metaphoric and back to literal. Thus, a metaphor may seem trite to one person or fresh to another. If metaphors illustrate flexibility, growth, and gradation of meaning they can also reverse meaning. Consequently, the fact that I was or people were once "dumb, blind, stupid or naïve" allowed their entry to employment and the prison with a certain amount of excitement and idealism, each losing their merits with exposure to their realities.

Second, various motives (Forget 2000) could be ascribed to the makers and users of metaphors. For example, the variety in language conveyed by new comparisons reflected a perception of a changed affiliation, social context, self, or experience where secrecy, peer loyalty, economy, self-assertion, defiance and creativity competed for expression. Thus, words could be mysterious or self-explanatory, drab or colourful, humorous or dull, shocking or soothing. The aim was to say something new and sometimes, not necessarily positive. However, metaphors could become significant for individual or critical enquiry because as readers will see reflected in the eleven categories metaphors but more specifically in those of working relations, gender, and morality.

Third, another source of caution was the use of a "dangerous" metaphor (Bartel 1983; Gumpel 1984). Metaphors can unleash strong feelings and a dangerous metaphor that overstates a situation may also impede clear thinking. Dangerous metaphors became attractive substitutes for thought, like clichés, and could have prevented re-examining the basic issues from which they arose; blurred analytical thinking; deterred thoughtful conversation and logical cognition. In the prison, as in the media, the use of dangerous metaphors tends to sway individual and public opinion by oversimplifying or dramatizing an important problem while blinding it to the dangers inherent to interrelated political, ecological, economic, or social issues and their implications. For example, the danger of overstating was quite evident in the Sensuous and Health categories; where the metaphors could have been discounted as being indicative of an immediate unsuitability to the prison environment rather than an increasing sense of victimization or of a developing mental state allowing participants to either become hyper-sensitive to issues or deny the potential effects of prison exposure, for fear of being judged unstable.

Fourth, another limitation of the "dangerous" metaphor is that it is based upon confused thinking and polarized extreme attitudes so it makes it difficult to defend any position. In the prison the possibility of rape is real and employees are fearful. The issue is not discussed and fear remains private. So when a participant said "I had to empty my purse...I felt raped..." the metaphor over-embellished her situation, insinuated wrong ideas, moved emotions, and misled judgement. The use of the rape metaphor was dramatic and dangerous in downplaying the real possibility of actual rape and the fear it inspire as Woman clarified. Yet, a dangerous metaphor connects ideas in an attempt to unify physical similarities that have no or little equivalence; but, it has to be respected for the strong expression of an emotional and moral state it conveys. Even then metaphor needs to be evaluated, to a lesser degree, as an expression of capacity for individual and abstract thought.

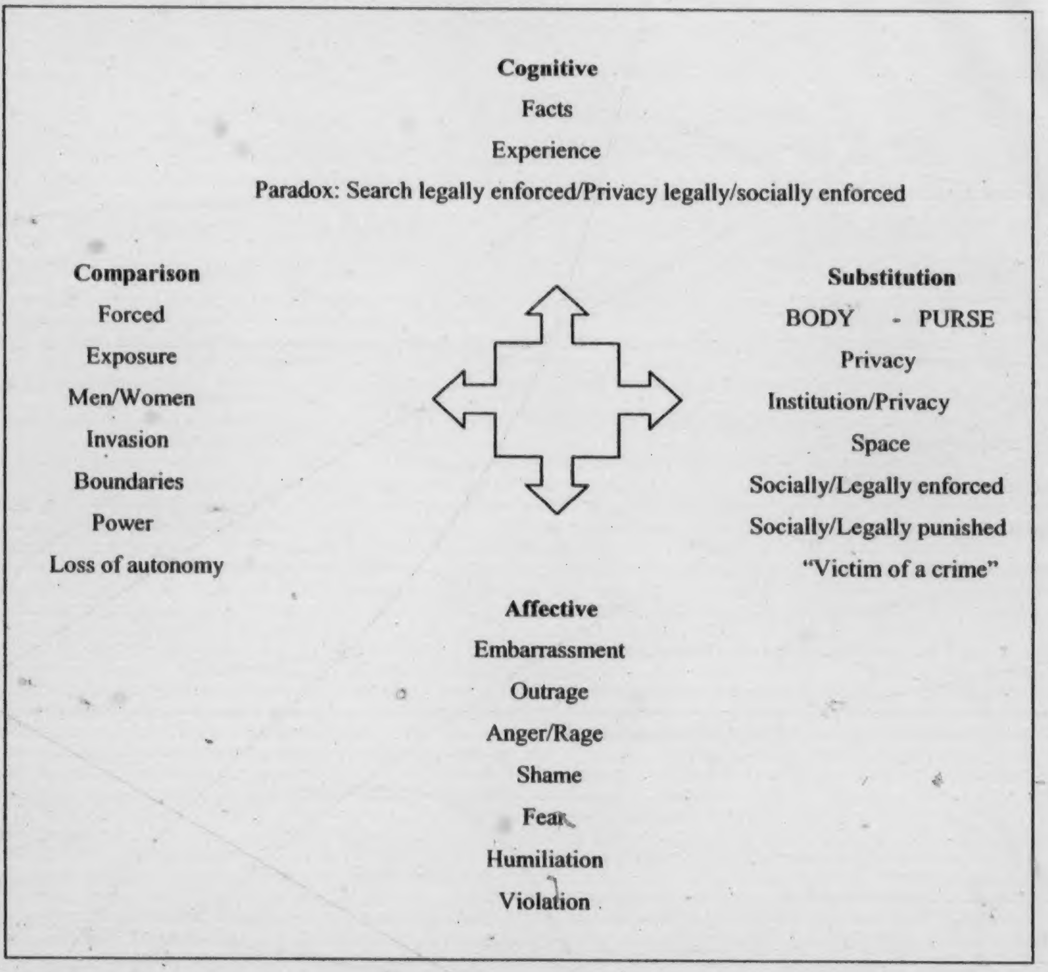
Fifth, metaphors as figurative expressions are different from symbols, another form of transcendental language. The metaphor works by interaction and comparison to merge two concepts, while the symbol expands language by substitution or rather by letting one thing suggest another. Thus, the symbol derived its meaning through development and consensus strengthened through repetition while the metaphor avoided destruction through invention and originality. Place and Locations, Gender, Mythological and Social categories are specifically representative of these nuances between metaphors and symbols.

Therefore, instead of considering metaphor as an ornament of language, *metaphors can be treated as acts of communicative creation when the literal words failed to accurately or appropriately express the emotional and cognitive content of personal experience (Forget 2000).* However, it can also be a bridge between the sub-conscious and consciousness of the participants (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). In this research metaphors offered immediate and intense release from pent-up tensions and emotions (i.e. the participants most often burst in tears after enunciating metaphors). Metaphors were not just language embellishments they evoked powerful imagery and released emotions.

## II. Metaphor Analysis

This section describes the process of metaphor analysis used in this research to evaluate the validity of the metaphors used in dialogue with participants.

**Figure 4: Semiotic Stucture of the Rape Metaphor**


**Cognitive**
Facts
Experience
Paradox: Search legally enforced/Privacy legally/socially enforced
**Comparison**
Forced
Exposure
Men/Women
Invasion
Boundaries
Power
Loss of autonomy
**Substitution**
BODY - PURSE
Privacy
Institution/Privacy
Space
Socially/Legally enforced
Socially/Legally punished
"Victim of a crime"
**Affective**
Embarrassment
Outrage
Anger/Rage
Shame
Fear
Humiliation
Violation

I used two ways to comprehend metaphors (Meta 1987: 38; O'Grady and Dobrovolsky 1992; Beavis, Thomas and Ross 1996: 93-95). First, saliency or the degree of overlap was established by comparing the terms or concepts for similarities: the greater the overlap, the more salient was the metaphor. Second, through substitution of meaning, I tested whether the apparent ir/rationality went beyond boundaries of the terms/concepts. These approaches combined comparison and substitution but did not make use of what remained outside the lines of the two spheres of meaning: the cognitive paradox and the affective domain.

The analysis of metaphors allowed new interactional knowledge to emerge. The blurring of lines between rational/irrational disappeared when participants let self-control slip. The slippage allowed paradoxical and repressed meanings to reveal themselves when "not only what is and what is not," but also "what remained" were considered (Field notes, January 16, 2001). Thus, the metaphor united form and content and ordered mental chaos into a picture with words (rape) already known to convey an emotional message (violation) and defining an understanding of the legally sanctioned experience (search of purse) to be understood.

Metaphor bridged "mind" and "heart," the rational and the emotional domains, the objective and the subjective perspectives; and possibly, the two sides of the brain. The emotions as "remains" acknowledged the importance of the affective domain underlying the associative process provoking the utterances of the metaphor because emotions, like pain, lays at the intersection of mind and body, biology and culture (Bendelow and Williams 1998: 253). These patterns were encountered repeatedly in the analysis processes; however, the depth of the patterns varied with individuals and with each metaphorical utterance. The most profound patterns were anchored by experience, the superficial ones resulted from uncritical speech or usage of clichés and were easily discarded.

## III. The Participants' Metaphors

CCEs were silenced originally by ignorance of the prison and gradually, once they gained knowledge, by its politics and fear. Any discussion of their work remained a place of strain. When they spoke it evoked pain and expressed personal, professional and moral struggles. When participants ran out of appropriate references for their issues and experiences they used metaphors to get at the meaning of their struggles. Eleven kinds of metaphors contributed to the rendition and reflective understanding of the participants' prison experience (Table 10).

Casual metaphors could have been taken for granted if they had only included clichés rendered so meaningless that they can be classified as "dead" metaphors. Occasionally, these casual metaphors became relevant by the time of their acquisition within the biography or experience of the speaker and were instrumental in approximating a turning point. In addition, casual metaphors included terms that applied to the various senses (synesthetic): sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch to define a concept or perception. This feature and the next category indicate the importance of the physical perception of the prison to the understanding of the experience.

Sensuous metaphors were specific for their strong precision and clarity in describing sensations and forming original images. They were primarily descriptive of outcomes so their implications retained attention and demanded clarification like in "being worn out by the bureaucratic washboard," or the overpowering desire to surround oneself with colour, to spend time outside (outdoors) which refered to physical responses and physical freedom. In addition all participants made use of sensory metaphors, except for taste.

**Table 10: Typology of Participants' Metaphors**

| *Kinds* | *Characteristics* | *Examples* |
|---|---|---|
| **1. Casual** | Synesthetic | dumb, blind, stupid, cold, sour, hard;<br>stink and various unpleasant odours |
| **2. Sensuous** | Implications | turned on/off, put off, roasted, sensory |
| **3. Place or Location** | Direction | up, down, around; in, out; her, there;<br>hell, limbo; hive, garbage bins of society;<br>stockpiling; warehousing |
| **4. Complex and subtle** | Multiple meanings | walking through fire, eye opener, equalizer;<br>leveller |
| **5. Humour** | Context dependent | literal understandings, cartoons, puns,<br>slips of the tongue |
| **6. Working relations** | Structure, Class | serving several masters, Chief, pion (sic) |
| | Politics | contract, ghetto, war, not the same as, scabs,<br>being risks, being at risk; who stays or goes;<br>crossing over, taking the meat; a good cause; |
| | Abilities | categories for students, peers, self, arrested<br>careers |
| **7. Gender** | Womanhood | 14 words |
| | Manhood | boys, guys, men |
| **8. Morality** | | naïve, ignorant, neutral,<br>professional, whisleblower, abolitionist |
| **9. Mythological** | | Company X, Sygismus,<br>Self-identities, families |
| **10. Health** | | Physical<br>Mental |
| **11. Social** | | night people, criminals, offenders |

Metaphors of place or location indicated discomfort and displacement or at least a change of direction or a turning point, and thus implied a journey. They included views and perspectives; measures of mobility, explorations, achievement, and expressions related to earth, fire, water or air and space real or imaginary. I was told to "go to hell…" while Retired found the prison, "a hellish place to work." Woman, "in heaven" while preparing for the conference returned to be "cut off" and found herself "in limbo." Knight was in a "war zone" and he had to bring back his colleagues alive. Under the pretence of training Believer found herself "on the hot seat" at "a roast" like Traveller, a place they never wanted to be at, ever again.

Complex and subtle metaphors required additional considerations to get at their multiple meanings because they could have been included in one or more of the three previous categories. In that sense, for example, each of the participants' pseudonyms became a chosen "lived" metaphor shaping how participants approached the prison experience, viewed and acted-reacted to it. This lived metaphor conveyed ideology, beliefs, values and dispositions and expressed itself in specific set of linguistics.

Humour was a category of its own because it can be used innocently or to threaten. Humour was always context dependent. Favourite newspaper cartoons about prison exemplified this in abundance. Humour was also present when metaphors were taken literally, when people misunderstood each other, or when CCEs took themselves too seriously. When dead metaphors or clichés were used with apparent wittiness they resulted in puns. "Slips of the tongue" could be ambiguous and were frequently misunderstood by those around the participants. Like puns they were also another source of unintentional humour because the nature of the forceful language used is figurative and illogical. If the user and the listener became aware, puns and slips of the tongue had the ability to embarrass them and these became "blushing" metaphors. Participants' reputations could be made or employment could be lost as a result of the familiarity and innuendoes attached to blushing metaphors. So, their incidences were recalled with mixed emotions depending on how the speaker handled the effects of their utterance; especially, if and when their utterance occurred when one engaged in repartee with students or prison staff.

Metaphors of working relations symbolized the economic aspect of human transactions and exchanges and revealed not only aspects of social status but also the importance of the economic influence upon human interaction. Combined with the previously mentioned metaphors of social situations/location, these metaphors formed the axis to identify the relations of power in the prison and revealed that the power is evidently on the side of the institution. For example, if the Chief of Education "allows," "praises," "don't tell us anything," "prefers," and "wants;" on the other hand, CCEs are "contracts," "guests," "scabs," and "risks," in "a ghetto of women." In addition, participants had to "learn their place" and "serve several masters."

Metaphors of womanhood revealed the misogyny of the prison. Femininity in its varied expressions threatens the equilibrium of prison and corporate order by evoking individual and collective corruption, revolt against established norms and the necessity to recover from the disruptions by justified violence and force.

The "woman" in reason of her sex is a trespasser into a masculine environment. She adds variety to the human element. The "young" are inexperienced and susceptible to manipulation; the "pretty" are physically attractive, so they become suspect and vulnerable to seduction. They are deemed higher "risks" and most likely to become "whores" to meet basic physical appetites. The "whore" is both physically or sexually attractive and morally repulsive; challenging not only bourgeois sensibilities but also the social and sexual equilibrium of prison. Her consorts are the "feminist" and the "activist" who are more socially independent and politically aware; thus, they pose possible threats to the views and authority of the prison and of the employer by challenging their authorities and the legal and financial superiority of patriarchy and capitalism; to bring change.

The "mother" is ambiguous. If she offers support, guidance, and caring she becomes a positive mentoring influence or substitutes for absent or uncaring female figures. However, she could also become the target of misdirected anger or treated as if an expression of an Oedipal complex. On the other hand, she could exercise a great deal of power through caring and moral authority (big sister, grandmother, Kokum); and become a positive influence upon the environment and operations unless she becomes an additional source of oppression (nag, harpy); or a contrary influence such as a "bitch" or a "feminist," when the terms are used pejoratively.

The "victim" implies added vulnerability or masochistic tendencies. The "saint" represents unattainable altruistic ideals. She negates needs, recognition and materialistic concerns but she is also silent unless invoked to support practices that leave other supplicants wanting.

The "lady" was proper and unflappable, and while insisting on courtesy, she could be uptight in her detachment. The "professional" could remain distanced, untouched, and neutral while coping with the difficult circumstances and conditions. Being "professional" could hamper the ability to self-reflect and self-evaluate or to become critical; possibly, for fear of finding oneself wanting. The "professional" "serving several masters" attempted to please them all and because of compliance was dangerously close to the other professional, the "whore."

The "interfering do-gooder" was killed while interposing herself between prisoners and guards and her reputation was sacrificed to the myth used to scare other women and reinforce institutional control. Finally, the "marm" is physically perceived as aging and shadowy; past physical attraction, her days of usefulness numbered. Yet, mentally, morally or socially she could be the one who has nothing to loose; and she is the most effective reactionary woman for that reason alone.

All these aspects of womanhood were conveyed in the language of participants, employer and prison. But each of these stereotypes features were united in different measures into each of the female participants, and with each came a measure of morality and social accountability.

I found no other expression of a "manhood" metaphor beyond the use of "boys," "guys" and "men." These were generic terms and boys implied tolerance for lack of physical, mental or intellectual maturity; guys a group familiarity, and men an acquired egalitarian respect for abilities.

Metaphors of morality revealed the depth of the impact of the events and turmoil emerging from the prison experience of the participants. Entering the prison under condition of apparent neutrality participants found themselves bounced from one moral position to another. The participants had chosen to speak out to change conditions, even at the cost their employment.

My analysis of employment files identified whistleblowers attempting to draw administrative attention to problems in the educational enterprise. Thus, they affirmed personal or professional adoption of a moral and political stance against policy or practice. Documents revealed that women resorted to increasingly stronger whistle-blowing (22x) at different times during the span of their experience and then following it (9x); while men resorted to it (3x) only before exiting. These incidences were contributing factors to the conflicts reported in Chapter Five. The participants agreed to speak about their employment and was promoted by their desire to see conditions change. In itself, their participation in this study was a form of whistle-blowing and resistance.

Interestingly, what I call mythological metaphors identified classical references to myths and stories from which sets of ideas, characteristics and values are derived. Classical mythology was first present in the employer's usage of Arthurian myth and, second, in referring to Sygismus in describing the difficulty of correctional education as "doing the impossible," which contradicts itself when the impossible is done, daily. But, "having to beg, borrow and steal" could result in other myths: the Robin Hood hero stealing to redistribute is not very far from the scam artist who begs and borrows under false pretences. Finally, the "reassignment to the kitchens" appealed to the "pioneer" ideal to justify a questionable contractual practice to employees.

The Chief of Education and the Teacher Coordinator, as gatekeepers, are mythological because of their proximity and of the immediacy of their power to influence or terminate the prison experience described in Chapter Five. They remained shrouded in mystery because even if their authority is legitimated by the system while their credentials could not be fully ascertained.

If participants were aware of the energies affecting them and chose to accentuate or downplay them, they were not always conscious of the ways in which language failed them or revealed the encompassing nature of prison experience. Mythologies anchored the ideological aspects of the personal myth or metaphor of the self as CCEs and modulated individual relationships with the prison and the employer, and/or their agents (COE and TC), with peers and their students.

The mythological self-metaphor appeared to appeal to the ego and to reinforce the classification of self above others. By providing the participants with an elitist sense of overcoming what has not really been overcome, but has been pragmatically accomplished when one became a correctional educator it could be said that the participant has been "correctionally" educated.

Finally, I realized that the participants' self-identities were also metaphors of the self, the personal myths participants were living up to while contributing to manifesting the emerging myth of the correctional educator for other professionals, within the teaching profession and for public consumption. Therefore, each participant expressed one dominant facet of the mythical contracted correctional educator (CCE), a modern myth fitting the post-modern age, because they were all to some extent knights (idealists), visionaries (of education and society), retired (practical and part mercenary), believers (in self and in education), and Travellers (on a life journey) trying to do their best. One might newly define the CCE emerging from this research, as "multi-faceted" or as "diamonds in the rough" needing the prison experience to allow them to shine to their full brilliance.

Health metaphors described the physical and mental effects of the prison or changes. "Tiredness" was one physical symptom. It aggravated over time physically and mentally until one was "worn out." Participants had "up and down cycles" of energy and commitment. Mentally, the lack of support, the constant reminders of danger added to institutional and corporate denials, rationalizations, and projections leading one to "doubt" perceptions, feelings and sensations. Surrounded by constant suspicion of "wrongdoing," the participants watched what they said and did; and it was "schizophrenia" and "paranoia" inducing.

Social metaphors revealed the participants' new perceptions and understandings of society. Visionary wondered "what example we [female CCEs] give as women" and acknowledged a hidden curriculum. Traveller's reference to "night people," those unseen during working hours who emerge from the innards of our cities as the sun goes down, evokes a dark and powerful shadow of society. The idea of "homeless" and "shady people" disturbing before the prison experience takes a more frightening aspect when one feels exposed and vulnerable inside and outside the prison. Plus, being able to recognize the similarities between the street and prison populations illustrates the short distance that separates the two, either on the way in or on the way out.

Metaphorically speaking, those who entered the prison can be described in terms of social potential: "social rejects" could be "stockpiled, mulched, processed and recycled" without affecting the "garbage can" or prison status quo; while "social dynamite" could put prison out of commission by sharing new ideas, new interpretations offered alternatives to imprisonment. However, advocates risked being "misunderstood, rejected, and forgotten" because the language of rationality and "prisonization" had been co-opted by the system.

This hermeneutic exploration of metaphor shows that participants extended language in unpredictable ways and helped me identify aspects of prison work. Where did this metaphorical language come from? A number of alternative explanations are possible and need consideration. It could be that a different environment demands unexpected language alterations and it could be a response to the impossibility of "prisonization."

There is little doubt that the prison experience of the participants was emotionally, morally and physically challenging. In addition, although the strategy of comparison and substitution of metaphor provided a sense of veracity and of rationality; it was not until the forces revealed in the "remainder," the feelings, were acknowledged that participants and I could really say that the metaphor was "understood."

It was when linguistic signification slipped that the power of metaphors emerged. The blurring of the lines between rational/irrational expressed a repressed emotional nature and the speakers would ask "why they'd said such a thing" or "why they'd used such words" or wondered "where does this come from," while regaining some composure after they'd cried. This led to the realization of the importance of the affective domain in the associative process that provoked the utterance of the metaphors and led to my asking the speaker what he/she felt. Once the emotional identification was made it became possible to reconnect the dominant emotion to a past associative formative experience by asking "You feel (…using participant's own words…), when else have you felt like this?" and to continue the regression to its original inception. Then it became possible to relate individual prison experience to past personal socialization processes and events and to locate the current prison experience in relation to these same past socializing processes which had shaped self-identity and personal mythology. This allowed the participants to distinguish between the elements of nature and nurture and to reconnect and reinterpret past and then current experiences. In other words the process healed fractures and demystified the individual self-identity and their response to the prison situation. A change of perspective occurred and released them from their sense of failure.

This fourth interpretive dynamic is what I call the "fourth hermeneutic," a hermeneutic of feeling, of "the heart" which had seen beyond the eye, heard beyond the ears and spoken a subconscious understanding. Thus, the metaphor acted as a bridge between the lived and expressed experience, between the similar (substitution and comparison) and the dissimilar, between the past and the present, and between knowledge of and knowing about their prison experience. This was at the root of the crisis of integrity outwardly expressed and experienced in the fractures between their individual and cultural autonomy.

**Figure 5: The Fourth Cycle in the Hermeneutic Dynamics**

| **Now** | | **Then** |
|---|---|---|
| Feeling | | *Feeling* |
| Event(s) a (b,c,d,) | | Events (1 to 8) |
| Event/experience/feeling congruent regained) | | I make sense (rationality |
| | | I spoke true |
| (proof/evidence), | | |
| Potential nature revealed (overlap) | | |
| | **Reclaimed knowledge/power** | |
| **Now** gains new forms of power | **as** | **Then** loses its power(s) |
| (Objectivity, Agency, Compassion) | | (Mythological, Social) |
| | **Redemption** | |

The participants had defined themselves and adopted a language and expressions supportive of this identity: this I called their "root metaphor" and used it as their pseudonyms. In the process of metaphor analysis, the fourth hermeneutic resulted in four instances of individual validation of root metaphors. The root metaphor described the motivation behind the participants' entry in the prison and their participation in the research. This validation occurred when the participants made a marked exchange between inner and outer meanings; emotion and cognition and subjectivity and objectivity. In doing so the participants gained awareness of the individual influences allowing them to resist the forces of prisonization while supporting their abolitionist manifestations as a social extension of their newly acquired measure of self-compassion. This evolution is similar to what Dabrowski found at Level V, in his theory of Levels of Development (in Hague 1995: 137-160), a level of secondary integration featured by a state of wholeness, of peace and centeredness which can only be attained by a previous level of multilevel disintegration (145) in order to get past pairs of opposites. In other words, the participants realized that very little separated them from the prisoners: "[T]he separateness apparent in the world is secondary. Beyond that world of opposites is an unseen, but experience unity in us all…when you have come past the pairs of opposites you have reached compassion" (Joseph Campbell in Hague 1995: 147).

The paradoxial use of metaphor might have appeared irrational at first but it allowed for greater rationality by helping to re-integrate personality and validate experience and individuals. Metaphor counteracted fragmentation and rendered a sense of redemption, possible. Redemption, is present and future oriented, and contrary to the prison ideology. In the workplace redemption provides a source of hope to the participants and this *hope sustains their decision to remain in their employment.* On the surface, they appear pragmatic and provide a much more "rational" explanation. Yet, the inquiry successfully negates the interpretation of the prison as "changing the individual into someone he was not," beforehand. Rather, it supports that *the prison experience brings CCEs to face who they were before they lost touch.* The prison experience stripped away layers of cultural shaping and the expectations they entail to reveal what was essential to each individual and this is what de-zoning/dis-owning process allowed them to do.

## IV. De-zoning and Dis-owning

I had associated the power of language with creativity and deconstructive reasoning and wanted to convey both the process of de-zoning and its outcome, dis-owning. The terms describe processes as applicable to andragogy as to pedagogy and their effects reveal the final outcome of working within a mnemonic environment called prison. However, this process of naming and validating emotional experiences is situated within broad cultural systems of meaning that go beyond the intended interactions at this level of research.

### A. De-zoning

In naming the emotional elements of their experiences the participants learned to name their collective experience and I saw this as a manifestation of the acquisition of a required self, social, and operational understanding and as the expression of some measure of control exercised over what is being named. In naming, the acquisition of a set of verbal symbols deal with what sparked curiosity in the environment and naming reunited individuals with their humanity and the wholeness of life. This interrelationship articulated the abstract in the concrete, the universal in the particular, the many in one, the macrocosm in the microcosm and the essence of the feelings and thoughts in a single metaphor or symbol.

For example, as an andragogic practice, de-zoning the prison and the areas of ignorance surrounding the entry of teachers into the prison and private employment resulted in mapping the experience of CCEs as an aspect of education little known to the profession and the public. De-zoning the institutional, social and personal experience dispelled ignorance of prison, privatization, marginalization, and "prisonization" to reveal beyond it, the abolitionist potential by tracking down their source domains. De-zoning the experience revealed its structure and dynamics and identified the fractures leading to the formation of new affiliation. This process is partially comparable to the 35% of teachers who abandon the teaching profession within a few years of entering it and shift their career to other professional avenues when they become dissatisfied or disillusioned (ATA 2001, Satisfaction Survey, p. 2).

### Space

Material space in the prison was real but even imaginary space could be as effective as real material dimensions. Space unfolded or contained histories; gave ideology form and meaning and created legacies evoked and affirmed by symbols. Participants appropriated and occupied prison space as political acts. They interrupted and transformed space by giving it renewed and different meanings.

The entrenched marginalization in the politics of privatization provided a radical standpoint from which the participants identified the spaces where they transgressed by "being out of place." In pushing against the mentality and oppressive boundaries of sex, race, class and bureaucratic domination permeating the prison settings they found where transformation was possible: in the classroom and in their inner lives. Thus, for the teachers the margins and the classroom as spaces of the prison became locations of openness and possibilities to affirm subjectivity and provide locations for remembering and articulating the meaning of prison space while they struggled with the oppressive limitations of structures attempting to re-script them politically, professionally and socially, as "others." The metaphors of the "contract, ghetto, war, scabs" rendered the limitations of this re-scripting and they also allude to their political potential for opposition and resistance.

This struggle over redefinition was why the prison had the unexpected potential to *elicit in each individual an internal dialogue.* Even though bounded by the prison, the participants' work situation and experiences provided multiple opportunities to rethink their interactions and activities. As they rethought their experiences they initially used analogies to explain things and then used metaphors, as a last resort. These metaphors provided them with the means to overcome the professional fragmentation in their work and the fragmentation of their personality.

### Fragmentation

For the participants prison experience came bit by bit. The prison environment reduced the professional life of participants to a series of sensations and disrupted the flow of experience and their meaningful understanding from those previously found in frames of long memory. I identified three trends of experiential fragmentation: 1) analytical fragmentation favouring cognition over sensory perception; 2) consumerist fragmentation created by demands for immediate gratification; and 3) cultural fragmentation where values exalt novelty over documented history. Each kind of fragmentation created further conditions for the rationalization of prison processes and the reorganization of the personality structure of the participants through bureaucratic fracturing.

The concept of cultural fragmentation originated in the works of Weber and later in Tönnies and Simmel. It has received post-modern articulations by Nedelmann (1989), Bauman (1992) and Ritzer (1988). They demonstrate how technologies segment experiences and bring individuals closer to the entire world by emphasizing only the authenticity of the here and now. They challenge the ethics grounded in universal claims or historic developments because they wish to also escape the burden of their history. In other words they disclaim the nature/nurture debate and move on. However, Jameson (1984), one of their critics, demonstrates that the breakdown of chains of significance amount to schizophrenic fragmentation marked by a lost capacity to organize the past and the future into a coherent experience. So it is not surprising that “although it is hard to say whether the pull toward coherence may be as strong as the push towards fragmentation, it cannot be overlooked as an integral part of human condition in our time” (Levine1995: 8). Each metaphor formed a fragment of the participant’s here and now; like snap-shots, they needed to be re-contextualized within the life-span for their meaning to be reclaimed.

Re-contextualizing metaphors provided participants with more extended frames of meaning because their relevant fragmented prison experiences were then balanced against similar and contrasting accounts drawn from previous life experiences. Exploring the source of the metaphorical expression eroded self-will as the only explanation for self-definitions. The process resurrected the nature/nurture debate and reopened the ethical imagination to extensions of compassion and morality, possibly never experienced before. This was why Shengold (1989: 284-285), a psychoanalyst, advanced that personal history can only be brought into an impression of unity when the feeling of personal identity is restored. My study seems to confirm this point. The participants reconnected with their personal history. This re-identification enhanced their sense of self in relation to historical perspective then helped them to remember the past and talk about connections. Thus, participants found that during the research process the andragogical practice of remembering and reconnecting was empowering. Connections between the past and present helped the participants to recall their personal histories. These personalized narratives helped restore identity and helped moral purpose (Jameson 1982).

Previously, behaviourists accounted a similar opposition between fragmentation and coherence. Conduct was explained in terms of measurable responses to discrete positive or negative stimuli. Prison and corporate administrators observed the presence of CCEs in the prison schools and *concluded that they were prisonized* as a result of re-socialization to the prison environment and function. *This behaviourist explanation is inadequate and thus, questionable.*

My analysis of the CCEs' commitment to leave or to stay revealed three important factors. First, commitment required a firm sense of what one stood for, at the time and for a time; or in other words, a consistent organization of conduct with a firm identification. Second, participants' individual histories illustrated that enduring commitments depended as much upon consideration of the past as on their thoughts about the future. This finding supports Wiley's (1995) theory that the semiotic self ("I") requires a "Me" based upon past experience as well as a "You" oriented to future projects. This insight has a precursor in social thought: Jean-Jacques Rousseau's asserts that "a memory extend the sentiment of identity to all the moments existence" ([1762] 1979: 72). Recalling the significance of remembered experiences for a unified functioning self, the dynamics of cultural fragmentation and the need for coherent personal narratives, identified a key aspect of andragogical focus: an interruption of the prisonization narrated and a dialogical reconstruction of personal narrative with the participants as agents of their own histories and not the object of the structures of prisonization. Finally, the third factor influencing commitment indicated its mutability. If pressures on identity and conduct were mitigated by distant goals to maintain commitment, goals and commitment could be modified by changes in information.

Changes in information could come from various directions but the most significant were information emerging from the individual life-history; followed by those arising from the collective history of CCEs linking with the collective stories of the "boomer" generation. However, at first sight they did not appear in this order.

The participants' stories about the outside communities in which they found their meanings provided insight into how they had attempted to make sense of their prison experiences in order to maintain the plausible and coherent life-story essential to their optimally functional personality. As andragogical practice, the participants' introspective accounts of memory provided a point of discussion to avoid the stamp of collective representations of prisonization. Those who followed this process referred to past life-altering experiences provoking discomfort, awareness or determination to avoid repetition, because of the pain they evoked. Consequently, in remembering events of their prison experience, they activated a mnemonic process reproducing previous events in their lives, but also recognized how they had either re-scripted their life stories or simply put them aside in a kind of learned forgetting or denial.

When I examined the links between personal and collective dimensions of recollection a similar dynamic was evident. All the participants were from the "baby boomer" generation. They also were consistently from "traditional families;" referred to some form of religious beliefs; and were trained professionals. Socially and professionally, these teachers seemed bound by similar collective histories and shared collective memories, indispensable for the functioning of any social groups. These appeared sufficient to form the focus for solidarity in periods of routine activity. However, as CCEs, all they had to affirm their collective existence and reaffirm affiliation was their participation in a recent event the 2000 Literacy Conference. The only constant in their employment was the VP; he was the face of the contractor, of the company, and the guardian of its history. Therefore, in the mechanisms of social solidarity and commitment to a group's values and purposes *his personality replaced and filled the lacunas until the demarcation between him and the corporate entity became lost*. Consequently, when individuals were conflicted with their employment they also became as conflicted with him as they did with the rest of the factors influencing their employment.

I soon found that *co-opted information could displace the importance of aspect of collective memories*. Co-optation is defensive and conspicuous; it is found in international discourse of history, colonialism and development, and politics and war. Similarly, Company X provided a corporate history on its web site. This history allowed for selective interpretations because it was geared towards advertising services and attracting new prospects. ACEA also has its history as an organization but it had no real relevance or impact upon the CCEs. For CCEs there was no officially shared professional history other than the corporate version and even the sites' histories were shrouded and isolated by systemic silence, distance, and staff turnover. This meant that in the region only the top administrators accessing and moving in and between sites had a complete understanding of the situation and its evolution. This grasp reinforced management control.

The lack of a real collective memory was deeply significant for the solidarity of CCEs. First, participants had only their individual professional history and their prison experience to fall back on and this prevented them from commemorating or remembering within an external interpretive scheme. Second, lack of solidarity resulted in lack of power to affect conditions and rendered individuals vulnerable for elimination. Third, every time participants used "we" they were seeking affiliation, a professional identity in a publicly unknown and short-lived profession. It is significant that for the first time the voices of CCEs are heard as a group and in such a way as to really convey the challenging experience that is theirs. At the same time, this document provides both a sense of the collective history of CCEs of the Prairie region and of their individual experiences. Furthermore, *this study provides an alternative interpretive scheme to "prisonization," and possibly other alternative interpretive schema for future research.*

In speaking about prison experience, metaphors especially acted as and were more than similes. They were riddles serving to reveal one to oneself, when internal exploration resulted in a fourth hermeneutic connecting ways of the mind and heart. Therefore, metaphorical expressions as creative language were worth considering in resistance to "prisonization" (i.e. a future oriented bureaucratic projection) by offering a present self-actualization of abolitionist practices. In this chapter, *de-zoning applied to the language and metaphors of the participants to challenge the adequacy of explaining my participants as prisonized.*

Morris warns (1995) that all who enter prison have the potential of becoming abolitionists. In evaluating my findings, I realized that the frequent reiteration of the topic lead to exhaustion of a descriptive language for feelings and resulted in the use of metaphorical expressions which provided one communicative strategy for inciting and elaborating on abolitionist dynamic. I recognized that when the participants were "speaking in metaphors" they were evoking part of an internal dialogue that helped them to connect their prison experience to the way they and other people think, feel and act.

Metaphor, as emotional and cognitive, is essential to the development of mind and language. The word metaphor comes from meta [over] and pherein [to bear], words meaning transfer the meaning of some thing known into experience until that moment unknown. However, I am also reminded of the mathematical expression "to carry over" in supporting that metaphor "not only carries an emotional charge in its sensuous imagery, but is also cognitive in that it is the bearer of values" (Whelden 1995: 154). If metaphor has to do with personal development and values then it is not morally neutral.

Other meanings of to bear include to have or show; to give birth to; to produce or yield; to support or sustain; to withstand or endure; to need; to give; to lie, point, or move in a given direction; and to approach, to confirm. And so, language becomes a moral discipline, engaged with values and bound with evolving meaning as individuals work, learn and mature. The pursuit of metaphor revealed the fragmenting character of the prison as equivalent to a personality disorder in need of healing.

*De-zoning worked to breach some rifts but it had another implication, a performative and potentially mutative one.* Suffice it to say here that those who followed the de-zoning process from the first to the fourth hermeneutic had previously indicated higher self-ratings and more significant abolitionist practices. These ratings and practices are indicative of a deeper performative process called dis-owning which I address in detail in the Section B of this chapter.

## Language of Participants and "Prisonization"

In the de-zoning process, my research shows that the participants were practical in their strategies and might stay for lack of a better alternative or because it was convenient to do so. So far, the fact that some CCEs stayed has been interpreted by the corporate and prison authorities as a manifestation of "prisonization." After reviewing prisonization theory and its related literature and conducting this study, this blanket explanation of retention remains unconvincing because of its inadequacy. *My findings indicate that the fact that the participants stayed was insufficient to support an explanation that the CCEs had been re-socialized by prisonization. Instead, they* *used language as an indicator of how they mediated the realities of their experiences and supported expressed abolitionist tendencies. In other words, socialization was necessarily inadequate because of the internal antagonism and agonisms that surfaced in the participants' struggles to make sense of the "nonsense" they confronted on a daily basis.*

The participants' language was counter-indicative of the prisonization theory for six (6) reasons:

1. the corporate and prison language used by the participants was not that different than the one used while I worked there. Only a few acronyms caused interruptions in the flow of interviews, and this appeared indicative of the stability of prison language and meanings over time in labelling staff and functions.
2. The use of environment specific language did not convey identification with the values of the contractor, nor the prison, except in one case: the participant who used prison language less, and corporate language more, remained unquestioning of either. The rest of the participants used more functional prison language specific to layout, position, categories and procedures but less corporate language.
3. The participants used a variety of terms in relation to the prisoner-students and this pointed to an evolving set of relationships and values.
4. Those with the greatest range of relationship vocabulary where much higher on the abolitionist scale; and
5. they were also far more critical of the contractor-contractee-prison relationship than is presupposed in the institutional and corporate narratives of common purpose.
6. Those who manifested reasons 3, 4, and 5 had higher working class sensibilities as they had only recently emerged from it through later access to advanced education motivated by the struggle to improve their lot. They appreciated what social capital they had; but did not take it for granted: it was still precarious due to the unpredictability of their employment, the aging factor, and their current and future financial insecurities.

In other words, *CCEs constantly expressed bodily resistances and then cognitively resisted the normalization processes.* Their discourses exposed the impossibility of the "normal" and the correctionalization of most teaching practices that they understood to be "normal," into abnormalities. To become and be a CCE meant confronting their "abnormalities" in their ever present emotional remainders and cognitive reminders. *Language provided a space for learning alternative responses to the normalizing forces and it was symbolic and paradoxical because the teachers themselves were conflicted.*

### Participants as Prison Symbols

Symbols and signs are interchangeable as graphic devices illustrating an arbitrary meaning and standing for only one thing; so, people respond to them routinely because their meanings have been codified. In the course of the interviews and discussions with the participants, symbolic meaning varied with the use of repetition, connotation and allusion. Whatever they repeated had significance and could be used to symbolize themes that emerged in individual interviews and across the spectrum of interviews. These symbols provided connotations beyond the literal level.

The teachers who became CCEs were both living symbols and makers of symbols for a number of reasons. First, for the prisoners, CCEs represent the outside world but more specifically they symbolized education and the value of education in society and in the workplace. So what happened when teachers were marginalized, castigated or harassed?

Second, women's presence symbolized gender equality, but what happened when these women were sent back to the kitchens or forced to change their dress and grooming to avoid being termed provocative?

Third, society protects workers against discrimination. What happened when ageism took roots?

Again and again, imaginative speculation revealed unnoticed relationships and some possibilities beyond words in the CCEs practices and embodiments. This hidden curriculum subverts any current public education aims and negates the value of social change to the prisoners/students. However, for the CCEs who experienced these challenges, they offered the possibilities of individual transformation. I suggest that administrators and students would have to help evaluate the impact of this unexpected hidden curriculum in future research.

For the participants in this study, the difficulties in this andragogical process resided in the fact that the symbolic constraints were deeply rooted in their personal history. The enquiry questioned individual knowing beyond a model of the world rationally subjected to processes of generalization, deletion, and distortion in addition to emotional, neurological and social constraints. If the literal enquiry limited words linked with a person's perception of environment and self at the conscious level, then *the symbolic enquiry, as the participants shared their prison narratives, helped them to reveal their discursive and abolitionist potentials.* Having found what the participants had talked about; now came time to pay attention to how and why they had done so.

### Why? Language Usage

During the interview process, I identified three mechanisms allowing for evasion and negation. These were three mechanisms or processes common in language model building activities: *generalization, deletion, and distortion* operating at each stage of narrative construction. These mechanisms needed to be deconstructed in order to bring clarity to the data and that enquiry lead to a reconstructive dialogue.

First, how did *generalization* work? Generalizations eliminated the need to relearn a concept. Recruits learned their CCE designation and role rapidly by generalizing from their previous teaching experience or training. As CCEs they reconstructed new understandings of behaviour from the fragments of their old understandings. They effectively and efficiently eliminated the need to learn a different concept. For some, being a "teacher" or an "educator" became "being a correctional educator." In a different example, Visionary generally applied the concept of "global village" to prisoners' language and thinking rather than learning the concept of prisonization and its effect upon the language and thinking of prisoners. The dialogue provided insights:

1. generalization was based on assumptions of "sameness";
2. asking the speaker to identify differences was often enough to refute the generalization; and
3. the individual then wanted to have access to information, to fill their newly identified knowledge gaps.

The second mechanism, *deletion,* worked quite differently. First, it is a central nervous system screening mechanism protecting against sensory overload and it allows for efficient performance. The ability to delete portions of events is essential to survival. For example, prisoners adopt deletion to survive imprisonment: "Don't talk, don't feel, and don't think." To some measure, participants adopt this same code in dealing with fear and nonsense or to maintain their professionalism. For examples, Visionary blocked the emotions of witnessing a violent beating and of being threatened with being taken hostage; Woman downplayed the danger and fear of rape in order to perform; Believer kept silent and pretended there were no inter-groups conflicts when they had been publicly documented because it was the scripted response to the situation. Woman got over the lack of material rewards. In other words, participants deleted their emotional responses and gave the contractor and the prison what they wanted; they performed. Retired omitted the security differences between his various teaching locations and gave his wife the impression that wherever he was he had security staff within 10-12 feet of him, at all times; while Traveller failed to recognize that the prison had infiltrated her conjugal bed.

The danger of living life filtered through the reducing valves of the brain and nervous system is that "what is experienced is only a trickle of the kind of consciousness which helps to stay alive on the surface" (Huxley 1954: 23). The participants' inclination towards deletion was why they had to be reminded to think about individual change or had to rely on loved ones to point it out to them.

Third, where generalization and addressing deletions were important elements of enquiry, *distortion* was the process by which perceptions were altered by changing how participants experienced sensory input. Distortion is the basis of most acts of creativity. It allows for the creation and enjoyment of art, music, and literature. It makes it possible to dream, fantasize, and plan the future. Distortion is a process where perceptions of reality are manipulated to result in the creation of unique variables outside the realm of definite possibility. This "leap" in thinking allows for re-interpretation or re-modeling of the world and for the creation of visual paradoxes[25].

Finally, generalization, deletion and distortion work together when participants are confronted with conflicting information and attempt to make sense of the irrational elements in their an image of their own. The processes of generalization, deletion, and distortion were also double-edged, working both for and against the best interests of individuals. As important as they were to the abilities to learn, think, imagine and create, the same processes could create pain and suffering, limit perception, disallow certain behaviour, and became counter-productive to individual growth and living. In these cases generalizations functioned as false assumptions, deletions as narrow selective attention and distortions created escapist fantasies. For examples, CCEs assumed that all sites operate the same way; they delete the massive needs for education to focus on the individual achievements of a few; and some seek to change the system from within. These strategies could lead to failure and self-devaluation, and might contribute to greater "prisonization."

Furthermore, during interviews, other forms of deletions and distortions manifested themselves. These became most perceivable when during the dialogues consistencies and inconsistencies of behaviours became evident. Non-linguistic behaviours are veiled by their nature as unconscious processes. Once noticed, non-linguistic behaviours had to be evaluated for end results and effects and inconsistencies were brought to the attention of the speaker. Thus, through the ensuing dialogue, it could be shown that this shadow of language formed complex and overwhelming patterns indicative of the need to clarify the points or issues related to professional and personal struggles in the workplace and beyond. For examples, Visionary claimed nothing bothered her but she ended up wondering at the kind of example she was providing to women coming to work in the prison. And Traveller and Woman realized the unhealthy curiosity of people who want to hear stories about the prison and they decide to remain silent rather than feed stereotypes. Similarly, Woman and Believer found themselves shunned by people who should support them because of where they work.

These struggles for meaning enhanced the complexities of the interpretation and increased the need and possibilities for reflexivity.

### Reflexivity

Overcoming generalization, deletions and distortions through reflexivity is potentially integral to the andragogical and critical realist processes. Reflexivity is the ability to reflect upon past events, actions and situations to gain perspective and objectivity. Weber compares how we live by habits and impulses to being in "a state of inarticulate half-consciousness or actual unconsciousness of its subjective meaning" (1968: 21); and cautions against "the danger of applying inappropriate rationalistic interpretations to human conduct" (1968: 7).

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[25] The works of Escher (1898-1972) came to mind with its manipulations of space and perspective (Forty 2003: 10) defying the laws of reason and perception. But the distortion also occurs because of the viewers' brain capacity to take in certain kinds of information (two-dimensional lines) while transforming them into something non-existent (tri-dimensional forms).

In this research, I never doubted that the participants were capable of reflexivity but I was prepared for the possibility that prisonization could have eroded their abilities to reflect. However, *it was also evident that the participants were over confident about their own self-knowledge and their capacity to act as social agents. As the research progressed, the idea that intelligent self-reflection offered a way towards agency became more difficult to comprehend given their embodiment of prison relations.* Dialogue and reflexivity seem to be "natural" companions in this case.

Archer (2003: 20-23) argues that it is not enough to observe oneself from a third person perspective because there is a fundamental difference caused by privacy, what is only known by our first-person self. Thus, mental states and activities have no necessary external behavioural manifestations as covert mental acts, mental states, and mental activities. Unless the participants shared their thinking, feeling, believing, or imagining, their inner processes were hermetically sealed against extroversion. When they did share, "insights or inner-sights and inner-dialogues" advanced their internal conversation (Archer 2003: 23).

*Reflexivity allowed for self-observation, self-evaluation and self-questioning.* In a sense it forced the participants to "walk through fire" while examining everything they stood for or took for granted about themselves, their values, and roles. It led them to "face themselves" by stripping social manipulations and recognizing acceptances and rejections shaping their identities.

### B. Dis-owning

The participants justified abolitionist self-ratings. *This appeared sufficient to support Morris' thesis that those who enter the prison have the potential to become abolitionist. However, it may have demonstrated only a temporary ideological shift rather than a permanent transmutation.*

This chapter concludes with an exploration of "dis-owning;" the performative effect of de-zoning allowing the release of fear and the confirmation of Irwin's proposition that the *abolitionist potential that emerges has always been there.* However, it seemed participants were unable to comprehend certain elements that constrained their identification with conflicting aspects related to their discourses, practices and embodiments that raised important questions about the possibility and directionality of the transformative process. During my interactions with the CCEs, I noted certain problems regarding the participants' creative recollection of knowledge elements, the relationship between self and language, and the cumulative effects of the mental/emotional experience appeared to be physically revealed. I assumed that a transformational view meant treating these responses as a psychological-physical relationship with the metaphor as its property. *This finding suggests that figurative relations might occur in a non-linguistic forms (as practices or embodiments) long before we have the intellectual abilities, knowledge or language to express them.*

The transmutation was unconventional, unusual, fanciful, imaginative and *always included an emotional component.* Participants revealed this component through imagery, a useful and strange mnemonic device, when interpreted literally. However, imagery also played a powerful role in fusing the separate domains of semantics and ideas, and provided a powerful and liberating experience of realizing why one was "unaccountably tired" when having recalled repeated incidences equated by someone else as "rubbing against the bureaucratic washboard." It became evident that there was linkage between body and mind, an embodiment indicative of the tensions affecting individuals.

There was also linkage between emotional health and spiritual values in the helping relationship of the participants. The emotions of wonder, joy, affection, compassion, and empathy counteracted depression, guilt, boredom, indecision, shame, worthlessness, repression, fear, frustration, loneliness, anxiety, grief, and detachment periodically affecting this relationship.

Values express more than social beliefs, they reflected intense spiritual lives. The contradictions experienced in values undermined emotional health and eroded physical health. This had already been noted in the frequency of stress leaves in those who left. It was corroborated in participants. In addition, they had witnessed peers whose health had been undermined by alcoholism, stress, anxiety or nervous disorders to the point of becoming disabled, or who had died, or given up teaching altogether. The vulnerability extended until it jeopardized individual safety and integrity. This realization was essential to abolitionist practices and expression.

My andragogical interventions treated the practices as *revealing compassion as a necessary emotion in establishing rapport that validated experiences and expresses care, concern, and kindness for what CCEs were doing.* Our interactions showed that compassion was based upon consideration of facts, behaviours, and exchanges over a period of time. It was not a blind feeling, nor an impulse. This compassion also reflected a strong belief in individual ability to change themselves and their circumstances but also awareness and acceptance of the realities of taking a risk by encouraging and supporting prison writing or joining the ranks of those who advocate for prison change and prisoners' rights, or to educate about the prison. This disowning moment centrally informed my relationship with the CCEs. The participants who became abolitionists also came to ask themselves what strategies they could choose to use to deal with such a negative environment without becoming jaded or indifferent.

The *de-zoning process showed that the central characteristic of any reality can be transferred from one order of nature to another* (see e.g. Hawkes 1972: 88). This cultural order is metaphorical. Thus, the participants in orienting themselves to abolition learned that social reality was the source of their individual metaphors and as in all societies it had a normative, reinforcing aspect and consequently, an explanatory one. "The metaphor conveys the changed and the unchanged about the world at the same time" says Bencze (1983: 274). The metaphor both confirmed and challenged people to escape limitations in search for wholeness, an integrated self-actualized personality, and its impossibility in such circumstances as they currently existed. This is why self- reflection, self-listening, and self-observation were important to the experience of the CCEs as a way to critical awareness. Therefore, both "prisonization" and "abolition" implied at least one of the four following explanations:

1. Whole individuals enter a whole discipline. This is the ideal of vocation.

2. Whole individuals enter a fragmented discipline. There could be recognition of what was fragmented in the environment, if accepted this recognition results in reduction as the individuals "settle for less." If the fragmentation is toxic to the individuals, the recognition allowed them to refuse to enter, "to change their mind."

3. Fragmented individuals enter a whole discipline. This results in the inclusion of the individuals, as the discipline appears to exceed their needs. Sometimes the inclusion is for the best or for the worst. People absorbed expect certain rewards.

4. Fragmented individuals enter a fragmented discipline. This process could give the illusion of completion of the gaps and accentuate the symbiotics of dependence. However, it can result in completion only if the process fills the gaps appropriately; otherwise, it can result in justification (comfort zone) if the fragmentations are similar; or in complete chaos if they are so similar as to induce a "recognition," my De Profundis, and a "flight or fight" reaction explaining the sudden change of mind of teachers who quit within days.

Each participant entered the prison because as teachers they felt they were competent and qualified to contribute. As teachers, they saw themselves as fairly whole individuals and the prison and Company X presented themselves as whole. As individuals, they felt that their life experiences would give them and edge to work with prisoners: some because they had all the advantages; others because they did not and felt they had overcome this. With entry to the Company and to the prison these assumptions of wholeness became questionable.

For one participant recognition did not seem to have occurred and she remained apparently content in her role as a servant. However, her aspirations were met and she was praised for her personage, so she was absorbed. For the others, recognition had occurred at different times and in different ways, each disillusion in the prison, in the working relationship, in the employer, and in education had revealed institutional, corporate and personal fragmentation.

Participants by bringing wholeness into question also raised issues of *integrity* (Smith 1997). Integrity is essential to the ability to reflect and act purposefully specially when dealing with constraints, in human service institutions, and in the struggle against personal corruption; it is one of the human response to destructive regimes, to maintain morale, and holding hope against despair. For the CCEs the expression of caring had been expressed through simple interactions and teaching dynamics. The recognition of fracture in others had allowed the recognition of fractures in self; it was the "eye opener," "the leveller," the humbling experience of prison. To know this fracture created a shift. *The adoption of abolitionist ideals reclaimed fractures and renewed the sense of integrity and wholeness;* but it was determined action, expressing agency, which indicated a transformation potentially subversive to the prison and to the contractor.

The abolitionist ideas of the CCEs, except for one participant, were not held prior to the prison experience. The manifestations seemed to be dependent on the interaction between the actors and their environment. The fact that *abolitionist ideas/practices* were found in a group of people separated by great distance and silence, supports that they *were provisional and adaptive responses to particular and irreproducible yet systemic circumstances justifying status quo and increased attempts, yet failure, to prisonize them.*

Inquiry into the personal experience has been accepted as a scientific method helping us to understand and expand knowledge about self, society and the world. For the participants, abolitionist ideals emerged through efforts at solving problems and recollection of satisfactory previous solutions in human practice. Pragmatic consideration of practical problems forced deliberation and consideration; consequently, action was initiated in moments or situations of indeterminacy or conflict promoting identification of problems, suggesting hypotheses, and determining a course of action challenging their understanding and the solutions in daily practice. Moreover, in approaching problem solving, personalities (Archer 2003) played a role and the combination of these personality factors help explain how five participants moved towards abolitionist ideals when one did not.

The emerging abolitionists discovered that they were seeking to meet norms they had set for themselves. At the same time, they were attempting to return to a sense of wholeness while having to resist the internalization of the prison seeping into their private life. They wanted to be proud of their work and its outcome. No one wanted to fail, no one wanted to be fired, no one wanted to be "unsuitable," even if it was by prison standards, a kind of misplaced pride. *Once "humbled" they had to recognize that these were the potential outcomes if they were overtly manifest in their abolitionist practices. So each and every one seemed to go underground and, therefore, they remained isolated.* They had not realized that their internal conversation, the fundamental process mediating between structure and agency, had also channelled the personal-societal relationship in different directions thus articulating the precise forms of the micro-macro links of "prisonization" and "abolition." *My interactions with the CCEs revealed that they were not uniquely alone but structurally positioned in a cultural system with particular effects which constituted their "experience" as common to the "prison.*

### Performative Benefits of Exploring Emotions

The participants' previously stated self-metaphors met the scientific criteria; therefore, combined with the self-ratings they had became cognitive expressions indicative of a knowledge of the prison leading them in or out of it. Furthermore, participants revealed that there was a natural and inherent correlation of sense qualities and mediated association within sensory metaphors. In their metaphors of prison, participants had made use of all the senses, except taste. Finally, cognition and senses were supplemented with "emotions." Hayakawa (1978) went further advancing that as far as our feelings are concerned "there is no distinctions between animate and inanimate object" (109-111); and they can create identical responses. During the research, tears as "unreflecting reaction" revealed evaluation occurring when strong feelings needed expression.

According to Bendelow and Williams (1998) emotions are "social things" controlled and managed in everyday lives and they transcend the divide between mind and body. So, a sociology of emotions is crucial to the understanding of social life. If "getting the job done" ignored and disembodied feelings, then feelings needed to be reclaimed (Meerabeau and Page 1998) because the body and its close companion, the emotions, were at the centre of the prison experience. Yet, participants had such strong abilities to delete that they were oblivious until they heard themselves or when they had to deconstruct the picture their words had painted. Metaphors worked as a bridge between senses, cognition, and emotions and created entirely malleable new meanings. Morever, neither element of the interaction was entirely malleable and symmetry could not be established. However, metaphor sided in the reorganization of the identity. Correctional education was as much about what was learned about prison, CSC, and the selves as it was about what and how CCEs teach and work.

Company X asserted that correction and education could co-exist as separate identities in a single structure at the same time while correctional administrators assumed that the metaphorical meaning was the result of the total fusion or union between the topic (education) and the vehicle (CSC): "We have correctionalized education..." (Bea Fisher, Presentation on April 14, 2000; Speech on May 4, 2000). But when Wright (2002, Abstract) introduced the practical knowledge of teachers as responses to "frictions in the machinery of a school within a prison…where schooling happens," Fisher and Wright's choices of words reveal the fracture of the institution, of the contractor, and their own – *or what I have called the impossibility of prisonization as normalization.*

This "impossibility" is best demonstrated as *a creative response to antagonism and agonisms.* For example, one surprise the participants had after entering prison was the amount of creativity demonstrated by the prisoners themselves. Prisoners were creative not just in arts or crafts but also to resist the rules and bypass them. Some had also been creative in their denial and survival. *Quite possibly CCEs "learn" from the prisoners about the impossibility of prisonization.* For example, language was the means to reconstruct reality of what was and what could be from within self; this process involved each participant. The process gave internal work to do and responsibility in a creative act with potential for self and social change through individual and collective activity. These creative and co-creative elements were found in the self-identities of participants and I believe, in the abolitionist self-ratings: the higher the rating; the higher the creativity.

Consequently, in reference to Archer's belief (1998, 2003) that knowledge is objective only when psychoanalysed, *the task explored resistance and obstacles manifested in the irrepressible creativeness of the epistemological search for objectivity. It was the de-zoning and dis-owning method of interaction that worked with the surge of emotions as the key elements explaining the impossibility of prisonization and informing the tendency for the possibility of abolishing prison. The participants presented definitions and illustrated forms of a comparatively new way of considering experience and reconsidering the prison and something other than prisonization; but also as a demonstration of the impossibility of prisonization and the necessity for abolition.*

## Summary

The analysis and rational reconstruction of the mediating and performative function of language in relationship to the personal lived experience of the teachers and the social and symbolic orders of prison life can be summarized by 12 andragogical increments. I have called this procedure "transmutive andragogy" to distinguish it from previous attempts to describe transformative education. De-zoning and dis-owning are two sub-traits of this process that attempt to capture the importance of linking the reflexive practices of psychological and individual kinds of transformative education in the social sciences with the functioning of social and cultural systems, and the intention to actually transform the social and symbolic order that teachers find themselves toiling in and under.

The 12 increments of transmutive andragogy are

1. to note the power of reflexive language and addressing the "reminders" in embodiments, practices and discourse;
2. what metaphors are and can do in andragogical interactions;
3. a fourth hermeneutic level of interpretation leading to naming;
4. a cultural system where pedagogy is addressed to "objective culture" between the natural and the personal;
5. reconstructing personal narratives to address space and fragmentation issues;
6. hegemony of an institutional narrative co-opting connective understandings of "baby boomers" and "traditional family" experience expose prizonization as fable/myth structure;
7. CCEs as embodied symbolization, worked to reconceptualize their own re-symbolization;
8. In sharing their narratives they built a new collective imagery; and
9. stop big narratives from being a "rationalization" or "justification" of experiential dealing with generalizations, deletions, and distortions.
10. Reflexivity, as a regaining of explanatory power for daily life and for narrative as theory rather as ideology.

11. For most participants "prisonization" was not an independent effect of the prison but a manifestation of previous antagonistic and agonistic socializing processes magnified to various degrees by the prison disguised by prior socialization and "prisonization" interactions that I have already described.
12. My interactions with the participants encouraged the de-zoning of deep classifications or inventions and revealed the mythological obscuration hiding and confusing unpleasant events in private and professional lives.

The next chapter concludes with suggestions and recommendations arising from this research.

# CHAPTER 10

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

My research had five aims: one, to document the experience of CCEs in the Prairie region of the Canadian penal system from their perspective; two to test the institutional and corporate assumptions about their prisonization; three, to confirm shifts in perception; four, to validate abolitionist manifestations; and five, to identify andragogical possibilities arising from the experience. This research achieved these objectives and documented the realities of teaching in prison. It also identified some of the effects of privatization upon teacher practices and professional ideology by focussing on the structure and functioning of the prison's social and cultural systems. This approach linked the micro-politics of the workplace with the macro-politics of privatized employment in one specific case. The literature review exposed the lack of literature available to potential recruits. The fact that secrecy surrounds correctional operations made access to information almost impossible to access. Consequently, the shortcomings in correctional education extend themselves to workplace education. This left the participants with the option to learn for and by themselves what it means to become a contracted correctional educator (CCE) in the federal penitentiaries of the Prairie region.

Canadian Adult Education has its roots in the fight for social citizenship and "...has always been concerned with issues of social action and public responsibility" Welton 1991). This identity arose from the Depression and the WW II years before the emergence of the welfare state when problems of economic and political powerlessness animated a vision of participatory democracy. *It sought "to mobilize people at the grassroots to reflect collectively on their situation to find solutions to their problems" (Welton 1991).* This statement is the heart and soul of Adult Education. In time Adult Education became oriented with the welfare state, the investment in human capital, and human resources development (HRD) through lifelong learning. This language appeals to industrialists, politicians, and decision-makers but also to the masses who become convinced that learning is the sole solution to current economic, political and social problems.

The HRD language also appealed to me. I am a product of this Adult Education ideology. This was why I re-entered education as an adult to finish grade 12, took a trade, then bookkeeping and accounting and acquired English along the way. This learning curve provided a satisfactory and comfortable lifestyle for many years. In my mid-thirties, I retrained to "work with people." Challenged by them, I engaged myself in the formal pursuit of a certificate which became a diploma and I studies leading to this degree. As an Adult Education teacher/learner this means over 20 years of experience in grassroots, community, prison, college and university programs and settings. Furthermore, in lifelong education are embedded ideas of continuous learning, empowerment, and understanding of the critical role of learning in the cultivation of the human spirit, capacity and development (Dewey 1938; Welton 1991). During the research, I found that four of the six participants had similar educational experiences. Even if their specializations were different than mine, they retained distinctive traces and characteristics of adult learners during the interviews and of Adult Education in their classroom practices and interactions with students. Their critique was not just a matter of economics. It was and is critical and reflective of the social, cultural, commercial and legal aspects of correctional education and of its constructs which affect everybody, including those who derive no benefit from it. Evidence indicates that the status quo of power, control, division of labour and profit margin narrow learning opportunities and that a false humanism animates correctional education and the prison as a workplace.

This type of learning is intrinsic within the workplace and those types of experiences are a part of transpersonal and psychodynamic perspective of workplace development (Fox 1994). Readers might assume, as the CCEs did, that if their employer and the prison authorities knew that the CCEs would be so naïve and ignorant of the prison reality, the employer and the prison authorities would have anticipated where they were heading and how they might feel. CCEs trusted that an informed authority might provide them with the appropriate information or an intensive and comprehensive apprenticeship for this unique and special job. But, where might the authorities have retrieved this information when almost no research has been done on the *experience* of teachers going to prison to teach?

They could not rely on public schools or even Adult Education research because they are so fundamentally different from correctional education. Public education is accredited by the Department of Education and must conform to the prescribed curriculum and objectives, evaluations and certification requirements. In public education the employment of teachers is in accordance with employment standards and subject to Teacher's Associations regulations, negotiations and benefits of advocacy and arbitration. Conversely, in correctional education the prison authority overrides educational authority and frequent interruption of the educational activities are the norm. Education fosters aspiration of future social mobility and gainful employment but in reality it is reduced to literacy and it is driven by meritocratic and economic self-interests of inmates while in prison. The General Equivalency Diploma (GED) institutionally touted as Grade 12 equivalency is not accepted by provincial colleges and professional schools. In-house certificates are meaningless even from one establishment to the next. Most importantly, most correctional schools are unaccredited and prison administrators control budgets, resources and materials, space, admissions and regulate activities and practices.

Even though Public Education shares several problems with Adult Education, Adult Education discourse has its own distinctive limitation in addressing issues related to teachers in prison (Duguid 1999; Welton 1995, Mezirow 1991; Davidson 1995). For example, the recent rhetorical debate over the utility of the conception "andragogy" for Adult Education misses the fact that it is still appropriate when applied to CCEs working in prisons. However, the debate is irrelevant when thinking about the institutional context for correctional education because few if any of the principles of Adult Education apply. Furthermore, at the grassroots level of teacher-student interaction, education for empowerment assumes that the teachers already have a teaching background or the appropriate correctional training for such work. In correctional education they simply don't have the practical fundamentals and the theoretical background - even though prison authorities say they have "teachers" and that they have "adult" bodies in the classroom. Missing, however, is the appropriate background and training. Furthermore, correctional education deals with learners who have a high level of illiteracy, ESL learners and lack basic employment skills. There is also a mixed racial and cultural population requiring not just the basics of education (e.g. 3 Rs) but also the fundamentals of andragogy (e.g. community development, social skills, prisoners rights, etc.). But in the current andragogy debate and issues related to workplace education and lifelong learning, andragogy applies to the teachers. The responsible way to approach corrections education is not only to be pulled into the abstract debate about the utility of andragogy but rather to refuse to follow every fashionable shift in educational reform, such as the current mandatory enthusiasm for high technology and online learning. Simply, because these fashionable trends would conflict with the primary functions of prison and exceed resource allocations, a more important focus would be on the nature and functioning of the prison and leave education to education institutions. These fashionable shifts and debates are meaningless in prisons where resources are missing and the very nature of education is constrained by the coercive logic of prison. When such priorities override the educational function any Adult Education researcher who might suggest that many of the insights garnered from research outside the prison setting is simply too idealistic about the possibilities for emancipatory education and too ignorant of the institutional limitations for their correctional practice. That was my experience, the experience of Selme (1997) and the experience of my participants. To assume otherwise is risky.

Adult Education is a voluntary pursuit, an expression of agency. Its benefits are practical and its applications offer solutions to immediate problems or issues faced by the learners. The learners are self-motivated and they set their own limits. Research is conducted with informed consent and follows strict ethical guidelines. In correctional education, education is still "prescribed" as part of the correctional plan. Learning in prison is an "occupation" when an inmate decides to participate, but the nature of this participation is quite different. Participation is coerced because it is part of the correctional plan for inmates. Therefore, the teaching function becomes confused with other kinds of prison functions. The results of inmate participation become part of an ongoing review and series of reports that influence inmate pay and release possibilities. In addition, if inmates decide not to participate, this also has negative consequences for the reviews and evaluations. In addition, inmates have little or no opportunity to apply much of their learning and new skills; therefore, inmates can expect delays in using their new knowledge and must bank it for the future. In Adult Education, the student is not restricted from using their new knowledge and skills immediately if they wish to. Finally, correctional education research focuses mainly on statistical analyses and is primarily intended not to serve teachers and students but rather managers and administrators to address budgetary purposes. Few outside researchers bother to study correctional education because of the difficulties in gaining access to the prison schools. Furthermore, researchers face bureaucratic delays which can jeopardize research outcomes. No Adult Education research would ever have to surmount the kind of barriers that correctional education researchers face. This difficulty in addressing some of the elementary aspects of basic research means there is a lack of reliable research about any innovations or "experiments" that might help understand the specific nature of corrections education. In Adult Education research there are far more opportunities for creatively attempting innovative education. So, for those people interested in innovation, there is little incentive or infrastructure, such as ethics guidelines and research supervision, geared for educational purposes. Rather, again, research is reduced to the primary purpose of administering the prison as a prison and not as a school. Finally, in Adult Education research, informed consent of the participants is required. In prisons this is not the case because institutional consent supersedes consent of a captive group. It is the institution that consents not the inmate. While this research received ministerial consent and didn't require institutional consent because it was conducted off-site, the parameters for ethical consent were set by the University of Alberta and not CSC in Ottawa. But even, on this issue, this minister corresponded between Headquarters and all levels below it to legitimize the decision to proceed with this research and to minimize possible conflict of confidentiality.

Finally, there were issues related to teachers as prison workers. Although the CCEs are orchestrated through rhetoric, new developments suggested outcomes associated with corporate performance. This narrow and restrictive process results in a missed and mis-educative experience for both the institution and the individual because the notion that people only learn what is designated or prescribed by others is a fallacy. This would justify conducting work in a manner conducive to the growth and welfare of individuals and in a way more consistent with human nature rather than creating or managing their experience as does the prison in its attempt to resocialize or "correctionalize" the CCEs. Moreover, this is a situation aggravated by the fact that the employment of teachers is delegated to a contractor who sets its own employment requirements and practices by ignoring most of the previous professional statuses, rankings, and benefits that teachers had. The combination of factors explains why the prison experience becomes a continuous context and source of learning and, eventually, of self-learning when learning turns onto itself and becomes critical self-reflection.

In the prison structured workplace with its system of close communication, functional work, low level of autonomy and strict work practices limit friendship opportunities. For the participants, worklife was hectic and draining, filled with conflict, ambiguity, uncertainty and emotionally charged by moments of extreme violence and vulnerability. At the present time (2006), public teacher education programs have not been able to prepare potential correctional educators because their experience reveals that it is contradictory to the legal structure and administration of public education and of its mandate. In other words, to be effective teacher training programs need to provide more knowledge and insight into the nature of the institutional division of labour; the conditions of work for teachers in prisons; the unique professional status for teachers working in a school under the jurisdiction of the federal (not provincial) government; and the changing conditions of work in a public institution now further complicated by the privatization of teaching services – all part of a very complex teaching life.

This closing chapter revisits the research questions and the findings; examines their significance; and provides recommendations to enhance correctional education, reduce professional and ideological conflicts and improve CCE's retention. The shortcomings of the research will be identified and result in suggestions for future research.

## I. Review of findings

Due to a lack of documentation and training, at first, the inexperienced CCEs simply generalized from their previous public schooling or adult education experiences to grasp what their prison experiences would be like. After only a little interaction with life in Canada's prison settings or teaching in corrections institutions they learned that these institutions provide a social life unto themselves. In short, they quickly realized that *they, too, have gone to prison.*

Prison is a social system in which a bureaucracy tries to create and to maintain almost total social control by regulating and ritualizing all interactions and activities. The self-preservation of the institution rests upon its custodial responsibility. The need for internal order promotes and contributes to the prevention of escape and internal disturbance. Prison routine is oppressive in many ways. To lessen its effects, recreation, education, and treatment measures provide possibilities of rehabilitation even if they occupy a relatively diminished position compared to a system of control aiming to teach prisoners unquestioning compliance to duly constituted authority.

Prison schooling functions primarily as a function of prison and corrections and not as a function of schooling and education. The rules are very different and the participants were caught unaware and faced a multiplicity of traumas. The CCEs' educational and professional quandaries are created by the educational mandates found in penal settings. Quandaries for CCEs emerge from the inconsistencies between the ideology of rehabilitation and the limitations imposed by the prison mandate for detention upon the mandate of education that aims to promote and facilitate rehabilitation by turning criminals into contributing citizens. The chief defect in the total power of the prison bureaucracy and its structure of power is that it creates for the CCEs a paradoxical estrangement. The bureaucratic structure first seemingly denies CCEs a classification and places contracted individuals "outside" the formal organizational structure; while in fact, CCEs actually work "inside" the prison's bureaucratic power structure and are relegated to a very low level of importance. The prison authorities, not its teachers, still control both the big and small details of educational programs, admissions, resources, materials, budgets and operations. Teachers have very little professional autonomy in which to control, organize, and deliver *education*.

The privatization of this schooling process added a second complicating feature for correctional education. It contributed problems that tested the integrity of these professionals and challenged their loyalty as employees. As workers, the CCEs found themselves in a place where many of the worst aspects of society are condensed and revealed in the most basic ways: the devaluation of their professionalism, labour, and social-self. The participants entered the prison to teach. This activity was something they were highly qualified to do; however, as strangers to the prison and relegated to low status, the participants not only learned about the social reality of prison life. They also learned about some of the similarities between prison, society, and their personal lives. In each context they occupied different social, moral, symbolic and economic positions and found many conflicting pressures of which they were compelled to address one way or another. Their experience of these dichotomies of difference sparked their various individual processes of reflection, enquiry, and evaluation in an effort to pragmatically reconcile the conflicts.

If "prisonization" is the adaptation to prison norms, it is also based upon fear, non-reflectivity, silence and compliance. However, for these CCEs, prisonization also functioned as a myth that helped them make sense of their suffering while at the same time falsifying, mystifying and fictionalizing a set of social relationships that was contributing to their institutional, social and personal struggles. Nevertheless, their curiosity allowed them to rethink common stereotypes and daily interactions and provided enough information to enable enquiry, reflection and judgement. While contributing to the order of the institution, they made individual decisions to teach and relate in specific ways with their students that went beyond the prison agenda to attend to the educational agenda. From there they not only challenged their own self-understandings and role-perceptions; they also tested their previous views of prison as a moral deterrence and as a justifiable social and political power, an awesome and fearful place. Many also discovered that the prison became a metaphor for much of their own lives inside and outside the prison setting. Many of the interviewees questioned their reasons for continuing their employment; however, unlike many employees, they continued to teach and struggle with the conflicts.

De-zoning their experience allowed the participants to dis-own the prison by identifying the root of their resistance to its influence and to explanations based on prisonization. This research tends to show that the implied danger of prisonization exists when one engages with the prison, when one compromises to gain reciprocity, and when degrees of dependency increasingly accentuate the real and impending possibility of prisonization. This perceived potentiality of prisonization elicits first an embodied response, then emotive and cognitive responses also implying the impossibility of prisonization. This also appears to be the case in the contractor-prison relationship where so many compromises have been made that the CCEs are constantly caught between the interests and power dynamics of both government and corporate bureaucracies.

Davidson (1995) reported that prison educators were "almost always fearful" (xiv) of conditions turning against them and that "critique within the ranks is distrusted and restrained lest it becomes an opponent's weapon" (xiv). This research partially explains where compliance, distrust, fear and restraint come from. Between the lack of information, the institutional attempts to control, the constant bureaucratic suspicion and the lack corporate response to employees' complaints, the participants were aware of the need to "perform." Pragmatic and economic reasons and the desire to avoid professional and personal embarrassment were, at first, enough to ensure compliance. But further to these economic interests and professional ethics, violence is one important and continuing feature of prison. Mistrust tends to originate from institutional and corporate practices which reinforce labour and professional uncertainties about their physical, emotional and employment safety and well-being. The tendency of government and corporate authorities to respond to safety and health issues is an important contributing factor to mistrust. Other concerns include a general lack of support for teachers and the continuous surveillance of teachers by observers and the projection of institutional stereotypes. Many of these interpretations suggest that CCEs themselves are a danger to the institution or that the CCEs' activities have created the distrust, fear and restraint. An uncertain environment accentuated these aspects because the CCE participants knew that they existed with little authoritative support or institutional recourse.

The CCE participants attempted to cope but were left to their own devices. They became increasingly critical of both their employer and the prison. Then, they started to act upon their beliefs and experience in the classroom, the institution, and the society. They resisted the potentiality of prisonization. This abolitionist potential became real and manifest. Ideologically, they were able to verbalize their reasoning and to justify their individual self-ratings on the abolitionist scale – some higher and some lower than others.

If institutional indifference or their own ignorance compounded the nature of CCE isolation and lack of institutional appreciation (e.g. lack of psychological compensations, social esteem, or economic incentives), then CCE experience revealed how difficult and demanding the job was and how agonistic their life would be. In spite of this, even though their sacrifices mounted, they continued to work. At times, when the costs were too materially or psychological damaging, they chose to exit.

When compared to other research locales, the nature and functioning of the prison system reveals and then accentuates many taken-for-granted assumptions. Prison is an intensely closed and hierarchical system with complex systems of rituals and rules and many layers of bureaucracy. Prisons are not democracies and authorities give no pretension that it is or should be in anyway "democratic." Immediately, as most people might imagine, this kind of setting offers little incentive to spare for a truly *educative* purpose for teachers. Yet it was these same features that forced the participants into conflicts and chaos and led them to re-evaluate their assumptions, their views, and their motivations. This reacting and rethinking led them to speaking of and about their experience because as teachers and workers they saw a need for change and improvement in prison schooling for education and in the nature of privatized employment. De-zoning their experience allowed them to dis-own prison and its educational and social failures.

## II. Significance

These findings are significant for CCEs, CSC, teachers, policy makers, and institutions providing teacher training for four reasons. First, the research added the voice and perspective of CCEs to the discourse of prison and validates their ongoing experience. Second, it documented the implications of privatization upon education and upon teachers, and third, it provided an assessment of correctional education.

Finally, it provided a professional profile useful in identifying risks surrounding teachers and undermining professionalism.

In summary, this research

1. provided theorists with an alternative explanation to "prisonization";
2. triangulated the patterns in the experience of teachers to the documented ones of correctional officers, chaplains, medical personnel and prisoners;
3. identified conflicts among and within three groups (educators, CSC staff and inmates) that weaken the effectiveness of education for rehabilitation;
4. assessed the impact of privatization on educational goals related to provision of services, candidate selection, pre-service and in-service orientation and training, employment condition and retention;
5. evaluated the degree of legitimacy of the Alberta Correctional Education Association (ACEA) and of the Correctional Education Council of Canada (CECC) in their representation of the interests of CCEs and of correctional education;
6. demonstrated the methodological complementarity of realist, interpretive and critical perspectives for educational research;
7. illustrated the application of the social sciences framework to a privatized employment situation; and
8. recommends policy changes related to correctional education, to the training of educators and to their protection.

Although CCEs remain few in numbers and are mainly silent, my research indicated that other people should also be concerned about CCEs's experiences and the conditions of their employment because they face a very and really difficult teaching situation. In the past, researchers have been reticent to explore the reality of CCEs' experiences for many reasons already highlighted in the study; however, this reticence is substantially influenced by the systemic secrecy shrouding correctional life and experiences as a whole. While there may be many other personal factors explaining institutional secrecy and the dynamic of silencing, at worst CCEs find themselves institutionally marginalized and the target of bullying and threats when they wish to speak up and out about their conditions. Aside from personalizing this restrictive dynamic, this research has turned attention away from the personalities to get at the cultural and social structures which enable and constrain this dynamic. Future research on the work and life of teachers in prison could uncover many factors rarely reported or explored or even raise more questions about the nature and functioning of prisons and of Canadian society as whole.

While my research started with the local conditions of teaching sites and personal responses of CCEs, it is important to emphasize that *future research must not only start with local conditions but also include the analysis of cultural and social systems.* Suggestions that go beyond this research would include the study of implementation processes and policy evaluation. It could direct attention to developing linkages with other forms of Canadian education: public, First Nations, vocational, tertiary and so on. It could explore the ongoing relationship between social theory, educational practice, and political power and try to come to terms with difficulties of doing prison research. Furthermore, it could try to understand the difficult relationship between social science research, prison practices and political power. Finally, more research could be directed to understand the specific nature of teaching in prison and the nature and functioning of employment practices. In the end, research directed in the above ways would have to commit itself to the assumption that prison education is important.

Company X, was a primary institutional object in this study simply because it was the sole mechanism for educational delivery in the Western Region. However, its administrators could not satisfactorily explain the loss or retention of CCEs. As a blanket explanation they unreflectively fell back on prisonization theory (Clemmer 1958). At its best, prisonization theory functions as a *testable* social theory to explain the adaptation to the social system and social order of prison as the assimilation - in greater or less degree - of the folkways, mores, customs, and general culture of the penitentiary. Without considering counter-explanations, prisonization theory appears as a "reasonable" explanation since the key assumptions of "prisonization" have been repeatedly confirmed as isolation, indoctrination, and inauthentic embodiment when the primary emotion is fear (Clemmer 1958, Cressey 1969; Irwin 1970, 1980; Slosar 1978; Lombardo 1981; Lemire 1990; Connover 2000). The problem, however, was that *prisonization theory* itself and many of its core assumptions were rarely tested let alone challenged. Drawing on the critical realism of Margaret Archer and poststructuralist and interpretive insights garnered from Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman, respectively, prisonization theory appears as a severely inadequate explanation for the state of affairs subsuming corrections education and the teachers who toil there. My research showed that it was extremely difficult not to emphasize an important assumption of prisonization theory: *that the prison is an apparatus of almost absolute coercion and surveillance for all who enter.* However, Archer and others alerted me to the idea of Prisonization as Cultural Myth, that is, that present *explanations of loss and retention were not preordained* as merely a function of *prisonization.* The "impossibility of prisonization" asserts that *totalizing myths are never total and render new ways of doing things possible.*

The CCEs' teaching experience is embedded in the political, cultural and economic grid of prison life regardless of the Supreme Court decision (1990) to place them outside of its bureaucratic structure and order following privatization (1987) (Chapter Four). The federal government reforms regarding delivery of educational services aimed to improve education and reduce its costs through privatization. Yet it retained many other administrative educational functions. This decision has complicated teaching by creating two parallel bureaucracies vying for the loyalties of CCEs. Furthermore, education has not been improved and its outcomes have increasingly become measures of efficiency (bodies in/bodies out, cost per unit) rather than educational achievement and attainment. Materials, resources and space are increasingly inadequate to the needs of prison students in a fast-paced, computerized, and technically advanced society. These conundrums inhibit teacher retention and harbour conflicting ideologies about the purpose of and strategies for education as demonstrated in Chapter Five. According to my research, privatization did not accomplish two of its objectives: correctional educational outcomes are questionable and correctional education has been systematically eroded in spite of repeated promises to the contrary.

Furthermore, the effects of the privatization initiative implemented in the mid-1990s on teachers' lived-experience have made a difficult situation ideologically, financially and psychologically worse. Systemic forms of violence and constant suspicion directed at CCEs compound the lack of employment security. Teacher's rights and their worker's rights are denied and their work is devalued. Benefits are lost. These stressful aspects add to the bureaucratic difficulties and complexity of social and professional interactions in the classroom and within the prison. In evaluation, the political initiative and bureaucratic logic applied to the privatization reform intended to help federal officialdom appease voters and encouraged the entrepreneurial aspirations of redundant employees who formed private enterprises. The teachers themselves lost support, access to formation and information and employment security and benefits as is documented in Chapter Five and exemplified in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

CCEs and corrections reformers seem to work in two different social worlds: one pedagogical and the other political. The problem is that the researchers *of* reform do not identify themselves as correctional educators and corrections educators lack the requisite resources for research and publication to get their story out on their own. They are constrained by the nature and functioning of the prison system and cannot seem to get a hearing unless they support the existing ideology. My research synthesized scholarly research with practical understanding of the teaching and life experiences of CCEs. I used qualitative methods of critical realist ethnography in the framework of the social sciences. Beyond the profile of teachers, arising conflicts, issues of ageism, assertions of harassment, forms of workplace violence, I depicted and substantiated social and professional stigmatization. I suggest that this knowledge should not be ignored because it appears to contravene labour regulations implemented by federal laws and statutes.

My research warns teachers of the difficulties they can expect to encounter when they contract themselves as correctional educators. The same information alerts prison officials and private contractors to pay attention to how they use theory in their practices. Furthermore, the findings could inform a moral-ethical commitment to progressive education, and not just to prison reform but to the eventual abolition of prisons. However, asking for a more emancipatory form of correctional education, one going beyond the narrowest definition of training or literacy, might already be asking for too much in the current political climate.

Ultimately, echoing Morris (1995: 1), abolition of the prison system as it now exists is "a critical, practical and realist alternative to imprisonment" based upon four arguments: (a) prison is expensive; (b) prison is unjust; (c) prison is immoral and (d) prison (and retributive justice) is a failure. From a critical stance, abolition means acknowledging the devastating effects of not only prisons but also of policing and surveillance upon communities. Furthermore, it recognizes that the wrongdoings called "crime" are socially constructed in a society and individual agency is constrained and enabled via complex social and economic conditions. It is also important to remember that the abolitionist's goal is not to improve the correctional system. The goal is to shrink the system into non-existence by "decarceration," the exercise of one or more of twenty-three alternatives to incarceration (West and Morris 2000).

In Morris's work she believed *anyone has the potential to become an abolitionist and she identified the transitional process itself; however, Morris was ambiguous about the nature of the mechanism for this transformation. This gap in her work revealed possibilities for andragogical praxis and my model of de-zoning and dis-owning allows for certain conclusions: the process is possible and builds on the social reality that exists: that complete prisonization is an impossibility.* Abolition, on the other hand, is possible even when it is not immediately probable. If someone desires to engage in the exploration of what is taken for granted and is open to change what is anchored in previous habituated forms of socialization, then abolition can be struggled for. For that reason, the andragogical process is not so much of transformation but of *transmutation, pointing researchers not to the form of education but to its genesis or origins.* This approach does not mean that pedagogical forms should be ignored but rather that the origination of those forms and the generation of new forms needs to be part of abolitionist activity in social research and political practice.

Thus, this andragogical model indicates (a) self-directedness in the self-concept of the learner; (b) the relevance of the learner's life experience; (c) readiness to evolve correlates with need to learn; and (d) evolution, like learning, is life or problem-solving centered, that it is reality-tested. CCEs knowledge and research of this type contribute a pragmatic aspect to institutional factors in change. Through their prison experience, the CCEs had to learn much more about the world than what is required in a narrow focus on schooling or literacy. Good teaching demands broad perspectives and alternative understandings. CCEs, too, have some sense of the education as a holistic enterprise as well the unique setting for their work in. Given the opportunity, these teachers were willing to challenge prevailing assumptions within prison education and create possibilities for a critique to emerge, to interrogate ideologies, to revisit historical memories, and to reconsider how social conditions shape practices.

Life in prison is definitely about individuals whose personal psychology and subjective states are put into play; however, their personal states were not the only aspects in question. It would have been foolhardy to conduct any kind of research on prisons that ignored the material and systemic conditions of life. My research accounts for the reality of the physical, bodily, and objective social and cultural structures of prison life and the function of prisons in Canadian society. Changing prison life - or even changing just one aspect of it, with teaching only a part of it - required more than merely changing personal attitudes or individual behaviours of individual actors. To change a material world of concrete, bars and violence will continue to take more than merely "changing one's mind" or "pulling oneself up by the bootstraps." These clichés demonstrate more about the functioning of ideology and the lack of a realistic understanding about the functioning of complex social and cultural systems. *While changing one's mind or self-motivating strategies might be a* *necessary precondition for a pragmatic approach to abolitionism, it certainly is not sufficient, and sometimes the myopic and hyperactive attention given to solutions based on radical individualism and pervasive psychologism might not even be necessary given the kind and nature of systemic changes required to decarcerate prisons and to mobilize correctional education for abolition* .

For the above reasons, I hope my research provided readers with an understanding of the broad organization of Canadian prison education and with a first-hand account of the experiences of the CCEs. In addition, I hope this research helps to develop professional and public awareness by disseminating knowledge about CCEs and their own perceptions of their work beyond the confines of their immediate circle of family and friends. Finally, I hope that readers will continue to further reflect on this study and, possibly, to support broad-based organizing with other interested parties and groups.

## III. Further Reflections and Recommendations

I strive for the abolition of prison but I am not naïve enough to believe that we will ever be rid of prison in this lifetime. Also, I do want to believe that together we can make efforts to reduce coercive power and structural violence in all aspects of society, especially in education. That is why I remain an educator determined to encourage correctional education reforms to eliminate its correctional aspects and bring it line with the contents, standards, and accountability of public education. In this way, it will become a fuller educational and potentially abolitionist endeavour.

### 1. The Capitalist Prison and the New Language of Control

In this research, there is a new vocabulary arising in the privatized workplace contributing to confuse unionists while hiding once well-known facts of life on the job. *Quality* requires fewer workers to work harder and longer. *Participation* and *empowerment* depend on relinquishing old forms of protection to get a job and maintain it. And *volunteer work* includes unpaid work in the hope of future employment. *Competitiveness* means educational inflation and devaluation of credentials, and also, lower glass ceilings and a reduction in benefits. Privatization accentuated these factors and, in addition, it marginalized one group of employees by pitting them against others who are better protected but are still vulnerable to changing expectations and new fears about job loss. With privatization, it is still the labourers who produce profits and continue to be expected to produce more. Life on the job is growing shorter, increasingly unhealthy and more precarious. In privatized prison schools, the capitalist continues to consider labourers' income as cost and to make changes to hold the line on wages and benefits and to restrict expenditures that might improve working conditions. As a case in point, Company X's participation scheme (1995) has done little to change the capitalist dynamic[26]. Having gained contracts based upon the value of their assets (i.e. the CCEs) the contractor failed to give much consideration to protecting them and what is more, it abdicated the power to do so by signing those contracts. In fact, by using and appropriating the language of quality and cooperation, company representatives confused the language of empowerment and quality with the reality of fearful workers and threats of job loss.

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[26] The 1995 participation scheme allowed employees to buy Class B shares of Company X. At the time, I wrote "I'm already being exploited by losing experience,

Amongst CCEs there was a growing sense of anger over conditions undermining the social and working status won in previous decades as workers. Above all, the perception of a limited professional future was depressing and repressive. Socially, teachers ascribe to middle class values and lifestyles. For participants their work was devalued with reduced salary and professional status and they found themselves in the same situation as those in the working class, struggling for present and future financial security. The fact that the majority of participants were first-generation University-educated made them more likely to perceive that they belong to a two-sided class when they had to "live from payday to payday, reduce their lifestyle, and live in constant fear of being arbitrarily fired." This social class ambiguity potentially reversed their political passivity, especially if they had escaped from a working class background through education. Yet, their working-class values and current employment practices seem to facilitate that return and this knowledge and mobility added to their potential as agents of social change.

While participants made some recommendations for changing the workplace during their interviews, other recommendations emerge from the findings and the analysis. The following recommendations complement one another in addressing the major factors affecting CCE retention.

### 2. Supporting the CCEs: Broad-Based Citizens Organizations.

Where the above discussion situated the prison and schooling in a capitalist society, this set of recommendations addresses the specific needs of CCEs who are experiencing an existential crisis and who are looking for support and information as workers and as potential abolitionists.

Humans are all potentially "prisonized" from birth by various processes of socialization. Surprisingly, some imprisoned workers had caught sight of their imprisonment and are aware of the fact that they were becoming enslaved. In this work, this was their most important insight leading to inquiry. This realization subsequently initiated the negation of their prisonization and enhanced their ability to critique from the inside with the rather limited space provided for critique. Furthermore, more inquiry evoked old memories and provided them with new thoughts on how to find their way out of the mess they found themselves in and they hoped to prevent others from falling into what one participant described as the same "hellhole."

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why would I give them my money to allow them to exploit me further" (Journal, March 7, 1995).

Broad-based organizing is an intentional and collective response to the human condition. According to Archer's critical realist approach to ontology, when humans are born they become a new source of creativity into the world. As such, our own needs, feelings and dispositions and all human action, growth and socialization in families, careers, and community involvement take place within an existential triad: natality, plurality and morality (Johnson 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Chambers 2003).

If natality enables people to initiate or to create new potential, then public life effects politicalness or active power for social change. Action is the capacity to initiate efforts to narrow the gap between the "is" and the "ought" (Freire 1996) so relational meeting and public action are the two basic ways of exercising and practicing natality in real life. Natality is at the core for people of faith and can make the so-called "impossible" happen.

Plurality reflects both individuality and diversity. People's perspectives, interests, values and priorities are unique to them and differences are dealt with in relationships Freire 1996, 1998; Chambers 2003). This diversity of humanity leaves people with simple momentous choices: do they handle differences through politics or solely through force and violence?

Increasingly, globalization is compelling educators to confront our plurality and demands that people contribute their energy, interests and resources with others to build broad-based collectivities. Plurality is the essence of broad-based organizing and emerges directly from natality. In Canada, democratically organized plurality can increasingly take on organized money and win. This is particularly evident, for example, in the push for Human Rights or First Nations' Treaty Rights or on a variety of health, labour and environmental issues.

Mortality means we are finite individuals. The gift of earthly life is limited in time and space while confronting limits requires learning to live with limitations of the world. Too often, in public life, organized citizens are not willing to seek compromises with integrity but will rather accept limitations of what is possible in the circumstances. Natality, plurality and mortality are not separate compartments inside us but are woven together as a seamless web, like past, present and future.

A collective leadership organization with moral intent is trained in the culture of effective and efficient public life. This is the case with the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) that represents one of the most promising expressions of civic participation through a national network of community-based organizations. IAF is a large network of "Peoples' Organizations" that provides tens-of-thousands of ordinary working and modest-income workers with a measure of power to shape decisions that affect their lives and communities. Dues-based operations are necessary because power comes in two forms: organized people and organized money. Dues are the life-blood of civil society organizations because they create ownership and ensure a measure of independence in dealing with the powers that be. The question is whether IAF can be applied to changing working conditions resulting from privatization?

The other broad-based organization relevant to CCEs is the International Coalition of Prison Abolitionists (ICOPA) which has chapters in most western countries. Its membership includes people from various disciplines as well as people just wanting more information about prison. They can be found on the web.

In Canada, prison abolitionists have organized under the guidance of Ruth Morris's Rittenhouse project and this network has helped publish prison critiques and prison experiences. They can also be found on the web.

### 3. Privatization

Whatever happens, the Canadian discourses of correctional education and of privatization have now moved beyond Canadian borders and are linked to global ones. Canada presents itself as an international leader in correctional treatment. Politicians have to carefully reconsider the value of privatization to correctional education and to re-integration.

A civil society is a place where people come together voluntarily to act in and around shared interests. It is a first and foremost basis of any institution and its power is generational because the institution is where values and traditions are instilled and fostered. As such the institution becomes both part of the political conscience and a benchmark of democracy. It is my contention that the development of civil society should trump the state and market in value. Mediating institutions like families, schools, clubs, unions, and associations are small units of power and agency constituted by organized people with their own money. A strong civil-society also promotes relationships that are the source of some of the most sacred meanings in human life. However, without the mediating constraints and enablements of states and markets, civil society can produce extremely closed communities and reproduce oppressive social relationships. Nevertheless, within the institutions of civil society, people are connected to their place and roots, learning new stories, imbibing their customs and traditions and discovering the vocations that give their lives meaning and value. It is not surprising that their presence is recognized and their absence felt.

The State includes official government at the local, provincial, regional, national and international levels. Its primary functions are enforcing law and order, creating a social safety net for its citizens, and providing for common defences against outside threats. To meet its obligations the State controls money and collects taxes.

The Market includes all institutions of business and commerce. Its reason for being is to generate profits through production and distribution of goods and services. The Market is global in scope and reach as a result of new technologies and of international trade policies. Ordinary people participate in the market as workers, clients, customers and consumers. Every actual society is a blend of civil society, state, and market blending into and out of one another. In a healthy and just society, the state and market exist in creative tension, creating accountability by challenging each other's proper competence and responsibility. The focus of civil society is the well being of this generation and the next. With recent state retrenchment favouring market-based solutions, the institutions of civil society have been left to deliver programs or initiate change. In the case of corrections education, this approach was not possible, so the marketization of state-based schooling introduced many unintended consequences and nothing or little to fill the gap. So,

- Review the privatization policy. Privatization was foremost a cost saving measure and its educational aims have not been reached. While it may have capped the costs of employing teachers and other than recruiting a highly qualified workforce, this policy has not improved education nor assured a smooth transition between correctional education and public systems of education.

In addition, privatization has contributed to workplace violence, to loss of status, and to questionable employment practices conflicting with provincial and federal mandates. These are legal issues worthy of specific investigation.

### 4. Workplace Violence

Workplace violence in prison needs to be addressed because it illustrates a hidden curriculum and counteracts rehabilitation. If prisoners are those who have refused the norms of society and teachers are those who pass and maintain the norms and knowledge of society with middle-class values, then what is conveyed when CCEs are marginalized and harassed by the prison officers in front of the prisoners? In reversing the message, the meaning of correctional education is not the one intended about lifelong education and the value of education in productive citizenship. So what is it? Maybe the prisoners' refusal of "normality" is becoming more understandable and it may be a correct strategy all along, especially when it concerns middle-class values of hegemony. Or does their refusal of middle class normality and its promotion of dominant market values provide other important learning opportunities to improve correctional education? These latter questions remain unexplored but my research does point out potential strategies to address workplace violence.

My research indicates that workplace violence is taken as a given for workers in prisons; however, previous attempts to address it with information and legislation appear to have been partially negated by privatized employment and by the indifference of the employer. Furthermore, the participants indicated that the professional organizations, the ATA and the ACEA, have not met their needs.

- Provide workplace violence legislation and relevant research information to recruits.
- Provide adequate orientation and security training at all sites.
- Provide debriefing of traumatic events.
- CCEs need to report incidences of workplace violence, harassment, indifference to legislated authorities even if they are inadequate to establish this fact.

- Then, CCEs need to be free to organize themselves, from the inside-out without fear of retribution.

### 5. Correctional Education Issues

The prison reforms of the 1960s and 1970s boosted the profile of correctional education and research; but ultimately failed to secure a liberal education application. Privatization implementation (1989 – 1994) overlapped the gradual elimination of community programs and university education while it re-entrenched internationally agreed practices and ideals of Literacy which have long since become inadequate due to rapid technical changes in the employment markets fostered by economic developments and technologies.

As with lifelong learners everywhere, for prisoners and CCEs the advent of revolutionary information technology, globalization, internationalism and elitism reinforces that making appropriate choices becomes increasingly complex when the realization that individual resourcefulness is inadequate sets in. This polarization between those who adapt to changing status and trends and those who don't, regardless of the reason, exemplifies 21st century ways o colonizing the lifeworld when everything that was once firm and solid disappears.

A liberatory andragogy frames its discourse within a combination of epistemology and ontology where it is assumed that learners can break free from accepted norms through a criticism of conventional knowledge. It would also assume that CCEs could develop a process of self-reflexivity by which their knowledge of prisons and the cultural and social systems they are embedded in is critically examined. The orthodox and romantic alternative responses to critical reason have already promoted "heart over head" education advancing that the CCEs' intelligence of feelings can change prisoners' attitudes. However, an alternative uniting of heart and head into a unified andragogical politics and practice emerged here. So when suspicions or resentments emerge, advocacy is needed in recognition of active creativity and to encourage practical creativity in the classroom.

My research and the participants views confirm a need to re-evaluate the aims and contents of correctional education because it does not provide access to the kind of life it promotes. As it is, the correctional educational enterprise has been increasingly cut back and the outcomes have focused upon economic costs and the number of bodies it serves rather than on the achievement of the participants. Schooling and literacy programs are inadequate in resources, content and access to meet the needs of inmates. Schools are unaccredited so achievement is rarely transferable from one institution to another and from the institutions to the public system. And even if the training is relevant for the student the value of the educational credential is almost worthless to other educational institutions.

The CSC should:

- Revisit the mandate and review the educational enterprise.

- Investigate alternative modes of delivery addressing administration, accountability and validity of programs.
- Ensure transferability to the public sector.

### 6. Administrative Issues

My research uncovered a number of administrative and management concerns which the contractor needs to address. First, ensure proper documentation of employees' files and of employment. Second, provide Records of Employment (ROE) in a timely manner consistent with guidelines to all employees who leave. Third, address concerns of past and present employees who allege harassment and other forms of violence in the workplace against the supervisors who are vested with authority over them. This means administration and management should revise the current process, investigate such claims and act on the findings because what is done, is done in the contractor's name. Fourth, standardize pre-employment training; review salary scales; be up front with the work conditions; revise sections of the work and employment policy manual to document only the legislation applicable to privatized employees. Finally, inform employees of the nature of their potential reassignment and provide options, training, safety awareness and meet the Health and Safety standards and requirements for these reassignments.

### 7. Further Research

Embodied non-reductive realism rejects Cartesian separation of mind and body and emergent power. Instead it is grounded in the human capacity to function in the various physical environments. As an evolution-based realism, this same evolution has provided humans with bodies and brains allowing them to accommodate to, and even transform their surroundings. Ultimately, realism is about functioning in the world. Consequently, those who do not succeed are often told that it is because they are not "realistic," are ill-adapted, out of touch with reality or even out of harmony. This kind of approach to "realism" assumes that agents should adapt to social reality rather than try to change it. However, realism is not a normative claim here about what should be done. It is an ontological and empirical claim about being in touch with the world and it requires something that touches and feels: a body. Embodied realism accepts the idea of a material world that exists independently from our conception of it and in which we can successfully function with relative knowledge evolving with experience. In the same fashion, embodied and emergent realism acknowledges central insights and provides mechanisms for characterizing these changes, variations, and multiple instances of social constructions.

Further research is needed to continue the documentation of the diversity of prison experience and its complexities because

> [We] must always engage in the investigation of practice….submit practice to strict, methodological, and rigorous questioning….lead[ing] …..to many readings…to understand what I was doing. ….reading

> simultaneously equipped me with the necessary tools to continue to read context, and enabled me to intervene in that context (Freire 1996: 108).

Research is needed to addresses the following issues:

- Give the CCEs who left (and who could not be interviewed for this research), a way to document their own experience. Understanding the nature of the prison experience after departure would help understand its ramifications and duration upon post-employment and quality of life.
- Health-wise, stress is a major factor, so monitoring the effects of prison on vital signs and senses could help identify and understand the implications of prison stressors on the physiology of individual teachers.
- Investigating traumatic events, incidents and exposure involving CCEs would help define trauma and reduce incidences of post-traumatic stress disorders.
- A complete investigation into the details of terminations would give insights into what motivates CCEs to "get in trouble," to "become rule-breakers," or to be "whistleblowers." This could reveal factors underpinning changes in moral reasoning.
- Finally, studies involving family units could detail the implications and ramifications of the prison influence upon social, marital and parental dynamics.

## IV. Closing thoughts

From under the many hats that I wear as a human, a woman, an educator, a researcher, and an employee, I offer a few propositions to the present and future CCEs and to the readers. Teachers aiming to teach about personal responsibility can convey social responsibility for others by caring, and by showing and expressing it. Correctional education is systematically discontinuous and the lives of teacher and students are more fragmented than in public education so it is even more important to foster expressions of care in the classroom. Caring presumes responsibility and gives meaning to life. Teachers working for a future crime-free re-integration must choose to create and develop meaningful relationships, and when they do, they help their students gain the skills and patience to do the same. This is what prison experience did to me and my participants. It gave additional meaning to what was taken for granted in our life conditions: in the caring we receive and sometimes, too, in the grace or luck that saved each from certain life and even worse prison experiences. This new information about their experience is why CCEs were and are worth listening to. They represent an untapped advocacy group for meaningful prison education and for prison abolition.

Then again, this process is not risk-free. Lacking in support, emotional anomalies result. The cost of caring can include disappointments, discouragement, burn -out and heartbreak leading to exiting from the profession. Many individual concerns have been silenced and dismissed. More research is needed to determine if this disaffection is a multi-stage process. Meanwhile, meaningful support networks (professional and personal ones) need to be implemented to counteract the isolation of teachers working behind bars.

Individuals working on their inner world made important discoveries, gained exciting experiences and uncovered threatening shadows. Seeing their connections and relationships revealed possibilities contributing to each individual's sense of aliveness. Expression of aliveness conveyed the bodily feelings of the experience and provided an inner-view of the internal and inward effort. In it is the expression of proper giving because it is meant as a gift from the participating CCEs. However, for the gift to be recognized as such, the attitude of the reader or receiver must be one of belief in the potential for every human being to find himself in struggling with polarized emotions and between the objective and subjective worlds.

I was radicalized by going to prison and by experiencing with others that could have been better. I want people to know and be angry at the injustices that remain. I want to foster hope and action by demanding less secrecy and more accountability from their politicians and government agencies. I want a more efficient and effective correctional education; one that is foremost, socially just.

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# APPENDIX I a, b, c, and d: Permission to do research

University of Alberta
Edmonton
Canada T6G 2G5

**Department of Educational Policy Studies**
Educational Administration, Educational Foundations, Adult and Higher Education
Faculty of Education

7-104 Education Building North,
Telephone (403) 492-7625
Fax (403) 492-2024

Edmonton, November 28th, 1997

The Honorable Anne McLellan
Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada
12304 - 107 Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta.

**Re: Permission to use personal experience of prisons for academic (PhD Education) research.**

Dear Madame Minister,

I worked as a correctional (federal) educator from September 1994 till September 1996. I am now a volunteer at both EIFW (tutor) and at the Edmonton Max (with the Elder). I am bound by the confidentiality papers which have been signed in 1994 and since then as a volunteer. It is clearly indicated that only the Minister of Justice, in writing, can release one from this agreement. I do not want to use names of staff or inmates or locations. Only to use my experience related to the surroundings, policies, practices, role(s), responsibilities and interactions with peers, staff and inmates.

I have enclosed a copy of my research proposal for your information. Here is an overview.
***Research Question:*** How did my experience affect my conception of the prison?
***Purposes of the research:*** 1- Knowledge of the experience and identification of "triggers;
- Mapping this process of understanding;
- to discover if other teachers identify these triggers and with this process of understanding.

2- Action for change: To support and validate teachers' experience.

***Background:*** Educators are an **unknown sub-group** in the prisons. They are a sub-group because they are not considered correctional staff and because their role is different. Yet, they have more contact time with the population than most other employees. Therefore, their experience, perception and conception of prison are different than correctional staff. They are unknown because nothing has been researched or documented of these experiences and perceptions in the body of correctional and academic research. I would like to close this gap.

***Methodology***: Hermeneutic phenomenology. A qualitative research using a philosophical approach aimed at interpreting experiences and complexities in every day life and practices. Through a continuous process of inquiry and analysis, the complexities (triggers) and resulting paradigms leading to shifts of conceptions are identified.

***Methods:*** 1- Narrative inquiry from personal experience;
2 - Document analysis;

3 - Unstructured interviews with 6 teachers and ex-teachers.

Today, my concerns are about the **legality and security** aspects of this research:

a) Obtaining your permission for myself.

b) In regards to the 6 volunteer participants, would they have to petition you individually? Is there the possibility of a "blanket letter of authorization" for participation in this research?

c) Not doing research in but about prison experience, do I need to follow the Research CD 009 (1995) guidelines?

I have discussed this project proposal with my adviser, but pending your decision, I have not circulated it to the entire committee. If permission is denied, I would have to redirect my studies and identify another issue to give me the same sense of commitment and contribution as this one.

I can anticipate benefits for contractors and CSC emanating from this research. If the findings apply within the sample, what are the implications for numbers of teachers? If it applies to teachers, can it apply to staff and inmates? We know of the tensions in correctional settings; this research could be an important step towards alleviating conflicts between and within groups. Fostering rehabilitation might be improved by looking within, instead of pointing fingers and shifting responsibility.

I appreciate your consideration and the opportunity to discuss this research. I look forward to your reply and advice. If I can be of any assistance to you, I'd be honored to do so. I remain,

Sincerely yours.

Arlette M. Barrette

Minister of Justice
and Attorney General of Canada

Ministre de la Justice
et Procureure générale du Canada

The Honourable/L'honorable A. Anne McLellan

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0H8

JAN 3 0 1998

Ms. Arlette M. Barrette
5 - 11464 - 132 Street
Edmonton, Alberta
T5M 1G1

Dear ~~Ms. Barrette~~ Arlette:

Thank you for your letter of November 28, 1997.

In your letter, you indicate that you are interested in doing academic research based on your experiences as both a teacher and a volunteer in the federal correctional system. You note that you are bound by agreements containing confidentiality provisions from which only the Minister of Justice can release you. As I do not have copies of these agreements, it is not possible for me to know just what terms and conditions they contain, or just who the agreements are with. Given that your work has been with the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), I would imagine that any agreements that you may have entered into would have been with CSC or with a contractor doing educational contract work for CSC. In both cases, the responsible Minister would be the Honourable Andy Scott, Solicitor General of Canada, and not myself as Minister of Justice.

Generally speaking, all information obtained, including records, research and reports prepared in connection with a government contract are the sole and exclusive property of the Crown. Ministerial authorization must be given before such information can be divulged. Given that your work was with the Correctional Service of Canada, Minister Scott would be the appropriate Minister to contact regarding disclosure issues. For this reason, I am forwarding your correspondence to my colleague, the Honourable Andy Scott, Solicitor General of Canada.

I wish you success in your studies at the University of Alberta.

Yours sincerely,

A. Anne McLellan

c.c.: The Honourable Andy Scott, P.C., M.P.
Solicitor General of Canada

Government of Canada Gouvernement du Canada

**MEMORANDUM NOTE DE SERVICE**

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To
À
Micheline Harvey
Ministerial Correspondence
NHQ

From
De
Doug Borrowman
RA, Policy, Planning and Finance
Prairies RHQ

| | |
|---|---|
| Security Classification - Classification de sécurité | |
| Our File - Notre référence | |
| Your File - Votre référence | M 402153 |
| Date | 1998-03-12 |

Subject
Sujet
**MINISTERIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM ARLETTE BARRETTE**

As Chair of the Prairie Region Research Committee, I received the file yesterday containing the letter and proposal from Ms. Barrette that was referred to the Solicitor General by the Minister of Justice. It is my understanding that no formal reply has been sent as of yet.

Given the delay since she first wrote in November 1997, I took the initiative to telephone Ms. Barrette to discuss with her precisely the question she is asking.

In essence, she wishes to carry out a research project that will address the question "What is the experience of being a prison educator?". She plans to carry out this research with no formal involvement of the CSC. She will identify her volunteer participants through the Association of Correctional Educators. She will use documents from the CSC that are publicly available (such as the CD's). She is well aware of confidentiality and anonymity issues as she sits on her University's Ethics Committee.

Her research will be based upon the experiences of current and/or former CSC prison educators, all of whom have signed the Oath of Office and Secrecy. As a result, her sole concern is to be assured that neither she nor the other participants will be considered as violating this Oath (recognizing that the research will maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of all sources).

I believe this question should be easily answered by a lawyer from our Legal Services unit. If the lawyer has more questions of clarification, I suggest they phone Ms. Barrette directly - she was very pleased to speak to me.

Doug Borrowman

cc: Ms. Arlette Barrette

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Solicitor General of Canada
Solliciteur général du Canada

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0P8

Ms. Arlette M. Barrette
5, 11464 - 132 Street
Edmonton, Alberta
T5M 1G1

Dear Ms. Barrette:

The Honourable Anne McLellan, Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, recently brought to my attention your letter of November 28, 1997, with enclosure, in which you request permission to use your personal experience as a teacher and volunteer in the federal correctional system for academic research.

It is my understanding that Mr. Doug Borrowman, Chair of the Research Committee for the Prairie Region of the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), has recently contacted you in order to discuss your research proposal. I am also advised by CSC legal counsel that, as long as you, and the other CSC contractors/employees, do not disclose any protected personal, or security, information, there should be no difficulty in your pursuing this research project.

I would like to take this opportunity to wish you success in your studies at the University of Alberta.

Yours truly,

Andy Scott

c.c. Mr. Doug Borrowman

# APPENDIX II a and b: Information and Consent Letters of Company X

University of Alberta
Edmonton

Canada T6G 2G5

**Department of Educational Policy Studies**
Educational Administration, Educational Foundations, Adult and Higher Education
Faculty of Education

7-104 Education Building North,
Telephone (403) 492-7625
Fax (403) 492-2024

Edmonton, February 29, 2000

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

I am conducting research in the Faculty of Graduate Studies at the University of Alberta in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. My research, When Teachers Go To Prison..., focuses on the experience of correctional educators in prison settings.

[redacted] (Prairie Division) obtained a regional education contract in 1993. Your employment files are the source of the demographic data needed to establish the profile of correctional educators. Therefore, I request permission to access and analyse your records for this purpose, as per our previous agreement.

The files would be consulted in your office, no document will be duplicated or removed. The data will be compiled using a spread sheet format on Windows 98, Corel Office. Each entry will be coded by a number only to preserve confidentiality. The data collected will be gender, age, marital/family status, professional education/specialty, years of prior experience, length of correctional employment, salary, promotion, and if not retained the reason(s) given for it.

In addition to the profile, this analysis can identify hiring trends: professional training lacunea: in-service needs; retention rate: security issues/risks: or other factors affecting retention and overall delivery of service. The findings are of interest and use to your company. Therefore, I would discuss and share the results of the analysis with you as [redacted] representative.

I would hope to conduct the research in May 2000, at a time convenient to your office staff. I will only need a few days to complete the compilation of records and this should be done without infringing upon your operations.

This research complies with the ethical guidelines of the University of Alberta, so a consent form is attached for your signature. If questions or concerns arise, please contact my supervisor, Dr. Jerry Kachur (780) 492 - 4427; Dr. Margaret Haughey (Vice-Chair); or myself at arlette@ualberta.ca or through the Department of Education Policy Studies, as indicated above.

I wish to express my gratitude for your ongoing interest and support. I remain,
Sincerely,

Arlette M. Barrette

March 13, 2000

I agree with this project and this proposal.

[redacted]

[redacted]

University of Alberta
Edmonton

Canada T6G 2G5

Department of Educational Policy Studies
Educational Administration, Educational Foundations, Adult and Higher Education
Faculty of Education

7-104 Education Building North,
Telephone (403) 492-7625
Fax (403) 492-2024

## Consent Form

This form confirms the consent of [redacted] to participate in the doctoral research titled When Teachers Go to Prison... to be conducted by Arlette M Barrette in fulfilment of requirements of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research. The purpose of this research is to define who correctional educators are by establishing their democratic profile.

I have been informed and understand the purpose and approach of this project and the nature of my participation. I agree to participate in this project by agreeing to allow access to the past and current employment records of Excalibur Learning Resource Centre and to a follow-up meeting of one hour (maximum) to discuss the findings. I also agree to have this session tape recorded for the purposes of transcription.

I understand and agree that:

- my participation is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw at any time without penalty;
- the researcher has the right to terminate my participation at any time;
- all data will be kept in a secure place, inaccessible to others;
- after a period of five years, the research data will be destroyed; the audio tapes will be erased; and written transcriptions shredded;
- anonymity will be assured in the following manner:
  - a. demographic data will be code by number;
  - b. no document will be removed from the premises, duplicated, or copied;
- confidentiality will be assured in the following manner:
  - a. use of codes in written and verbal documentation;
  - b. keeping the data secure.
- I will be able to review the transcripts for accuracy;
- I will be able to delete from the transcripts;
- I will be able to discuss tentative interpretations for accuracy and clarity, and comment both verbally and in written form on the data. These comments may appear in the final report.
- my signature to this document does not release the researcher of the University of Alberta from legal and professional responsibilities;
- any subsequent use of this data for publication or presentation will conform to the guidelines assuring anonymity and confidentiality agreed to above However, as the representative of Excalibur Learning Resource Center some of my comments might be recognizable.

The benefits to participants include:

- an opportunity to discover factors affecting service delivery and teacher retention;
- an opportunity to voice concerns and raise questions;
- an opportunity to offer suggestions and recommendations;
- an opportunity to contribute to the continuing debate on the nature and purpose of adult education as a public policy instrument.

The risk involved in participating in this project is minimal because of the measures taken to assure confidentiality and anonymity.

I have read the consent form and I understand the nature of my involvement. I agree to participate according to the above conditions.

Name: [redacted] Signature of Participant: [redacted]

Date: March 13, 2000

When do you want to schedule the research for : later May ...

## APPENDIX III a and b: Information and Consent Letters of Participant

University of Alberta
Edmonton

Canada T6G 2G5

**Department of Educational Policy Studies**
Educational Administration, Educational Foundations, Adult and Higher Education
**Faculty of Education**

7-104 Education Building North,
Telephone (403) 492-7625
Fax (403) 492-2024

**Information Letter**

February 29, 2000

This doctoral research titled When Teachers Go to Prison.... is being conducted in the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at the University of Alberta, and results from my involvement as a correctional educator (1994-1996) and ACEA member (1994-2000). The purpose of this project is to document the prison experience of CEs in federal settings and to examine how this influence them professionally and personally. In accordance with the Oath of Secrecy regulating CEs, the proposal was approved in 1998 and Andy Scott, Solicitor General of Canada, granted permission to interview six CEs who are members of the ACEA.

This research will validate the experience of participants and provide valuable information for other researchers; employers concerned with the retainment of teachers; policy makers; professional associations wishing to address employability issues; and to prospective CEs or anyone interested in education in controlled environments.

This research invites volunteers to recount their experience since becoming CEs by participating in three private, conversational, open-ended interviews. I aim to conduct the interviews during August 2000. All sessions will be scheduled at the participant's convenience, in a location of his/her choice away from the place of employment, and in a manner that will protect his/her anonymity and confidentiality. All interviews will be taped and transcribed by the researcher only. A participant will be invited to review his/her transcripts and to delete or provide additional comments that may become part of the data. This process may take another hour to complete. You are free to withdraw at any time.

Since this project meets the ethical guidelines of the University of Alberta, a consent form is attached for your signature. No threat or harm should result from participating in this research.

If questions or concerns arise, please feel free to contact my supervisor Dr. Jerry Kachur (780) 492 - 4427; Dr. Margaret Haughey (Vice-Chair); or myself at arlette@ualberta.ca.; or through the Department of Education Policy Studies, University of Alberta, as indicated above.

If interested, please return the completed attached consent form in the stamped envelope provided. Participants will be selected and contacted individually before June 15, 2000. I would like to thank you in advance, for your interest and participation in this project.

Sincerely,

Arlette M. Barrette

University of Alberta
Edmonton

Canada T6G 2G5

**Department of Educational Policy Studies**
Educational Administration, Educational Foundations, Adult and Higher Education
Faculty of Education

7-104 Education Building North,
Telephone (403) 492-7625
Fax (403) 492-2024

## Consent Form

This form confirms the consent of ______________________________ to participate in the doctoral research titled When Teachers Go to Prison... to be conducted by Arlette M. Barrette in fulfilment of requirements of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research. The purpose of this research is to examine the prison experience of correctional educators and to determine how this affects them professionally and personally.

I have been informed and understand the purpose and approach of this project and the nature of my participation.

I agree to participate in this project by agreeing to three one hour interviews (maximum) and a follow-up meeting of one hour (maximum). I also agree to have these sessions tape recorded for the purposes of transcription.

I understand and agree that:

- my participation is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw at any time without penalty;
- the researcher has the right to terminate my participation at any time;
- all data will be kept in a secure place, inaccessible to others;
- after a period of five years, the audio tapes will be erased and written transcriptions shredded;
- anonymity will be assured in the following manner:
    a. participants will be identified by pseudonyms;
    b. locations will not be revealed.
- confidentiality will be assured in the following manner:
    a. use of pseudonyms in written and verbal documentation;
    b. keeping the data secure.
- participants will be able to review the transcripts for accuracy;
- participants will be able to delete from the transcripts;
- participants will be able to discuss tentative interpretations for accuracy and clarity, and comment both verbally and in written form on the data. These comments may appear in the final report.
- my signature to this document does not release the researcher of the University of Alberta from legal and professional responsibilities;
- any subsequent use of this data for publication or presentation will conform to the guidelines assuring anonymity and confidentiality agreed to above.

The benefits to participants include:

- an opportunity to share their experiences and perceptions of the prison;
- an opportunity to voice concerns and raise questions;
- an opportunity to offer suggestions and recommendations;
- an opportunity to contribute to the continuing debate on the nature and purpose of adult education as a public policy instrument.

The risk involved in participating in this project is minimal because of the measures taken to assure confidentiality and anonymity.

I have read the consent form and I understand the nature of my involvement. I agree to participate according to the above conditions.

Name: ______________________________ Signature of Participant: ____________________________

Date: ______________________________

How do you want to be contacted to schedule interviews : ____________________________________________